DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 304 351 SO 019 531

TITLE Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets No. 1-41. 1960-1988.
INSTITUTION Pennsylvania State Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.
PUB DATE 88
NOTE 166p.; Leaflet No. 16, not included here, is out of print. Published during various years from 1960-1988.
AVAILABLE FROM Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, P.O. Box 1026, Harrisburg, PA 17108 ($4.00).
PUB TYPE Collected Works - General (020) -- Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS History; Pamphlets; *Social Studies; *State History
IDENTIFIERS Historical Explanation; *Historical Materials; *Pennsylvania

ABSTRACT

This series of 41 pamphlets on selected Pennsylvania history topics includes: (1) "The Pennsylvania Canals"; (2) "Anthony Wayne: Man of Action"; (3) "Stephen Foster: Maker of American Songs"; (4) "The Pennsylvania Rifle"; (5) "The Conestoga Wagon"; (6) "The Fight for Free Schools in Pennsylvania"; (7) "Thaddeus Stevens: Champion of Freedom"; (8) "Pennsylvania's State Houses and Capitols"; (9) "Harrisburg: Pennsylvania's Capital City"; (10) "Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution"; (11) "A French Asylum on the Susquehanna River"; (12) "The Amish in American Culture"; (13) "Young Washington in Pennsylvania"; (14) "Ole Bull's New Norway"; (15) "Henry Bouquet and Pennsylvania"; (16) (out of print); (17) "Armstrong's Victory at Kittanning"; (18) "Benjamin Franklin"; (19) "The Allegheny Portage Railroad"; (20) "Abraham Lincoln and Pennsylvania"; (21) "Edwin L. Drake and the Birth of the Petroleum Industry"; (22) "Painting in Pennsylvania: Part 1, The Province and Early Commonwealth"; (23) "Painting in Pennsylvania: Part 2, Since the Eighteen-Thirties"; (24) "The Walking Purchase"; (25) "Albert Gallatin: Master of Finance"; (26) "William Penn in Pennsylvania"; (27) "Conrad Weiser: Holder of the Heavens"; (28) "James Buchanan"; (29) "The Underground Railroad"; (30) "Centennial Exhibition of 1876"; (31) "Pennsylvania Archeology: An Introduction"; (32) "Chief Cornplanter"; (33) "Pennsylvania's Roads before the Automobile"; (34) "Pennsylvania's Roads: The Twentieth Century"; (35) "The Liberty Bell"; (36) "Simon Cameron"; (37) "The Battle of Brandywine"; (38) "The Battle of Germantown"; (39) "Gifford Pinchot"; (40) "The Battle of Wyoming and Hartley's Expedition"; and (41) "The Sullivan and Brodhead Expeditions." (JHP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED304351

HISTORIC PENNSYLVANIA LEAFLETS NO. 1-41

1960-1988

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

HAROLD L. MYERS

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

30 019 531

Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission
P.O. Box 1026
Harrisburg, PA 17108

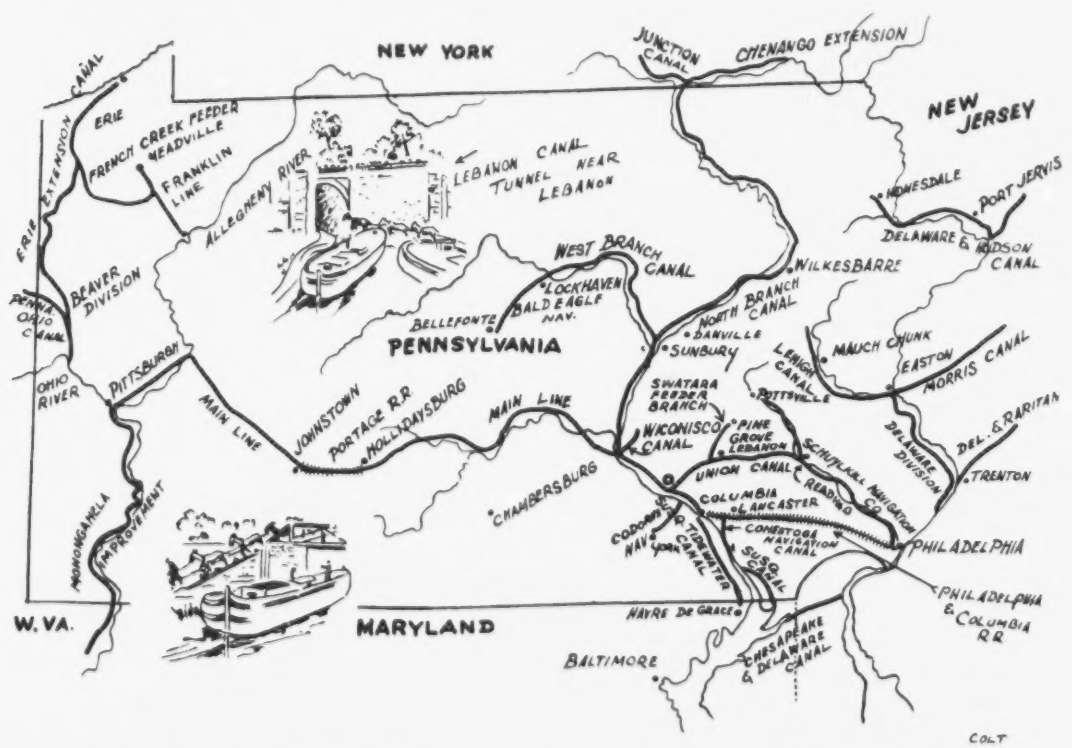
The Pennsylvania Canals

DOWN the eastern seaboard of the United States the Appalachians present a barrier to commercial transportation. Through this mountain wall the state of New York has a convenient passage in the Mohawk Valley. Pennsylvania, however, has no such gateway to the western part of the State, and beyond. Even the Juniata Valley, which penetrates far into the interior, is brought up short by the huge, unbroken mass of Allegheny Mountain.

In colonial days, to overcome the Appalachian barrier, traders drove trains of pack horses (each carrying a load of some 200 pounds) up and down the mountain ridges; but the cost of transporting goods over such heights, even after the Indian trails which the pack trains followed had been widened to accommodate wagons, was prohibitive of commerce on any extended scale.

Nature herself, however, had provided a partial solution to the problem she had thus created. Great rivers, the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Allegheny, pierced the mountains, range after range (except for the Allegheny Mountain), by way of gorges known locally as "water gaps"; and in the valleys between these ranges flowed countless navigable tributaries.

From the earliest days of the Province of Pennsylvania, plans were studied for encouraging trade by means of waterways. William Penn, the Founder, as early as 1690 dreamed of con-



The canals of Pennsylvania. Not all these canals were in existence at the same time. Insets show the famous tunnel of the Union Canal near Lebanon and a canal bridge.

necting Delaware River traffic with the Susquehanna River. His thought was to build a canal to follow the upstream course of Tulpehocken Creek from its mouth on the Schuylkill River and the downstream course of the Swatara to its mouth on the Susquehanna. Such a canal would bind the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna rivers into one great system of transportation.

A century was to pass, however, before Pennsylvania had its first artificial waterway. In 1797 the Conewago Canal, built on the west bank of the Susquehanna below York Haven to enable boats to avoid the rocks and rapids of the Conewago Falls, was declared operable by the State. Its purpose was to link river traffic safely with Columbia and with the turnpike which ran from that town to Philadelphia.

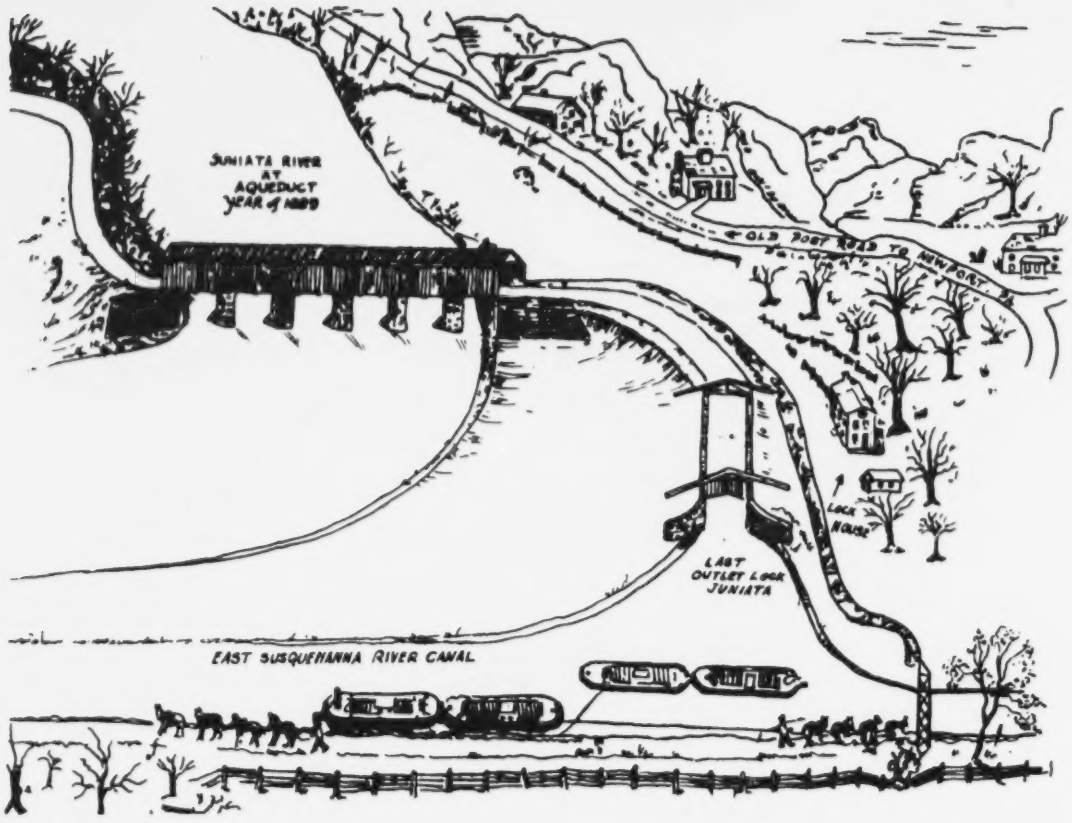
The great spur to Pennsylvania canal building came from the example of the Erie Canal three decades later. As that New York state project went forward between 1817 and 1825, Pennsylvania stock companies improved navigation on the Schuylkill; and the Union Canal Company carried into final effect, in 1828, Penn's idea of joining the Schuylkill with the Susquehanna by a canal along Tulpehocken and Swatara creeks, thus connecting Middletown with Philadelphia by water.

Meanwhile, Pennsylvania citizens called for a system of public works which should provide access to Philadelphia for the timber, mining, and manufactures of all parts of the Commonwealth, even those regions west of Allegheny Mountain. The Pennsylvania Assembly of 1824 gave authorization, and by 1834 the Pennsylvania Canal—which surmounted Allegheny Mountain by carrying canal boats, passengers, and cargoes on the Allegheny Portage Railroad between Hollidaysburg and Johnstown—was completed.

Other divisions of the State canal were advanced or completed by the same year. Publicly owned canals ascended along the Delaware from Bristol to Easton, and along the two great branches of the Susquehanna to Lock Haven and Nanticoke; at the same time private projects, either by canal or by canal and slack-water navigation, had made the Lehigh and Schuylkill rivers efficient for trade. By 1845 both private and public waterway connections had been established to link the cities of Pittsburgh, Meadville, and Erie by the Ohio River, the Beaver Division Canal, the Erie Extension, and the Franklin Line. The Youghiogheny Navigation and Monongahela Navigation companies, both private enterprises, were completed in 1850 and 1856 to bear traffic between southwestern Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh. The Delaware and Hudson Canal, promoted by a stock company, linked, before 1830, the coal mines of the Lackawanna Valley and northeastern Pennsylvania with the Hudson River and New York City, and by 1846 was accommodating cargoes of fifty-four tons. Other waterway terminals within the Commonwealth connected with New Jersey canals on the east and Ohio canals on the west, furthering interstate commerce during the same period. A towpath bridge on the Susquehanna encouraged trade with Chesapeake Bay and Maryland by linking the Pennsylvania Canal at Columbia with the Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal at Wrightsville.

The building of the State-owned Pennsylvania Canal was a great and intricate feat in engineering. Channels had to be dug along difficult river banks and through mountain valleys high above sea level. Aqueducts had to be built to carry the canal across rivers and creeks. Allegheny Mountain had to be crossed. Particularly challenging was the east-west main route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, on which the most expert American engineers of 1825-1840 were employed, men like William Strickland, Major John Wilson, Moncure Robinson, Nathan S. Roberts, Stephen Harriman Long, Sylvester Welch, Edward F. Gay, and William Milnor Roberts.

For the great waterway required not only two subsidiary railroads but an elaborate system of lift-locks, aqueducts, feeders, canal basins, waste-weirs, towing paths, bridges, and the like. Eighteen lift-locks served between Columbia and Hollidaysburg, sixty-six between Johnstown and Pittsburgh. These had to overcome an elevation of 2,102 feet above Philadelphia and 1,691 above Pittsburgh. To the last-named city the canal made entrance by a great aqueduct crossing the Allegheny River from east of Allegheny Town, as it had already crossed the Susquehanna from Clark's Ferry to Duncan's Island by a mile-long towing-path bridge. Travel and transport were slow on canal boats drawn by mules or horses, with


JUNIATA RIVER AT AQUEDUCT YEAR of 1829
OLD POST ROAD TO NEWPORT
LOCK HOUSE
LAST OUTLET LOCK JUNIATA
EAST SUSQUEHANNA RIVER CANAL

Junction of the Juniata Division with the Susquehanna and Eastern divisions, showing aqueduct, lock, and canal boats. A memory picture by an unknown hand, redrawn by the artist.

frequent passings through locks or transfer over the mountains by the levels and inclined planes of the Allegheny Portage Railroad. Four miles per hour for cargo boats was standard.

By an Act of April 11, 1825, the legislature of Pennsylvania established the first official Board of Canal Commissioners for the Commonwealth. After a summer and autumn of surveys directed by that Board in many parts of the State, a second Act was passed on February 25, 1826, formally initiating a program of public canal and railroad works which was to revolutionize traffic and industry.

Fourteen years later Pennsylvania's system of canals, including the eighty-two-mile Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad and the thirty-six-mile Allegheny Portage Railroad, totalled up to 726 miles of railways and waterways in operation, while another 208 miles were in process of construction. By that time the chief waterway parts of the Public Works, officially designated "divisions," were these: the Delaware Division from Bristol to Easton; the Eastern from Columbia along the Susquehanna to Clark's Ferry and across the river to Duncan's Island; the Juniata from Duncan's Island to Hollidaysburg; the Western from Johnstown to Pittsburgh; the Beaver Division northwards from the mouth of the Beaver River on the Ohio to slack water on the Shenango River six miles above New Castle; the French Creek Feeder; the Franklin Line; the Susquehanna Division from Duncan's Island to Northumberland; the West Branch Division from Northumberland above Williamsport and the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek to Farrandsville; the North Branch Division to the Lackawanna River above Wilkes-Barre. Tributary to these were a number of important feeder dams, and, on the West Branch Division, two highly use-

ful side-cut canals at Lewisburg and Lock Haven.

The Eastern, Juniata, and Western divisions, supplemented by the Columbia and Philadelphia and the Portage railroads, constituted the Main Line from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, forerunner of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

In 1839 other canal parts were being planned, none of which, however, was completed for a number of years: the Erie Extension from above New Castle to Erie; the North Branch Extension from the Lackawanna River to Athens; and the Wiconisco Feeder, designed to connect Lykens Valley and Wiconisco Creek with the Eastern Division on the east bank of the Susquehanna at Clark's Ferry Dam. These would have increased the total mileage of the Pennsylvania Canal to 934; but, before this wide network was completed, the Erie Extension Canal had been sold into corporate hands. Therefore, when the North Branch Division was completed at Athens in 1856, the Commonwealth possessed a system of about 830 miles.

In brief, the great heyday of the Pennsylvania canals lasted for hardly more than a quarter of a century. By the middle 1850's the corporate railroads of the State, with their ever increasing rapidity of transportation, had become vigorous and aggressive competitors, and the Commonwealth found it financially advisable to dispose of its canals to private railroad and canal companies. As early as 1843 it sold the Erie Extension Canal, the French Creek Feeder, and the Franklin Line. In 1857 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company purchased the Main Line from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Within a few years the now useless Western Division was abandoned, and in 1867 the Juniata and Eastern divisions were transferred to the Pennsylvania Canal Company, which also acquired and operated the West Branch Division, the North Branch Division below Wilkes-Barre, and the Susquehanna Division.

Canal operation ceased earliest in western Pennsylvania. East of the Alleghenies the canals in private possession were rather more prosperous. The Pennsylvania Canal Company maintained most of its waterways until 1901. After the floods of 1889, it is true, use of the old Juniata Division became impracticable except for a few miles above Duncan's Island; and, after the flood of 1894 hopelessly damaged the Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal, cargoes could no longer be "boated" onwards from the Eastern Division to Atlantic ports. The Union Canal had closed ten years earlier in 1884.

However, from the days of the Civil War into the twentieth century, the canals of eastern Pennsylvania prospered from the movement of coal. The Schuylkill Navigation Company operated until 1922, the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, embracing its Lehigh and Delaware canals, until 1931.

Perhaps the most notable of Pennsylvania canal achievements was the "boating" until 1894 of millions of tons of anthracite coal annually from Nanticoke on the North Branch of the Susquehanna to Jersey City and New York.

These boats pursued their leisurely way from lock to lock, over aqueducts, and along towing paths and towing path bridges, frequently with the captains' families aboard. Mules drew them on their long inland passage, but side-wheelers and steam tugs towed them on the rivers. They passed by Northumberland, Clark's Ferry, Middletown, Wrightsville, and Havre de Grace to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Then they went up the Delaware River to Philadelphia, or further by way of the Delaware and Raritan Canal in New Jersey past New Brunswick and Perth Amboy to the Hudson River and wharves of New York City.

The days of canal transportation in Pennsylvania are over. Historical markers still point out the traces of former canal beds, ruined locks, and other reminders of the canal age; and along the Delaware River the Commonwealth has preserved and restored a portion of the old Delaware Division of the Pennsylvania Canal, a memorial to the canal system which pierced the Appalachian barrier and contributed greatly to the State's material wealth and industrial progress.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1975. Third edition. Text by Hubertis Cummings; sketches by Guy Colt; edited by S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent.

Anthony Wayne

Man of Action

Waynesborough, the Birthplace of Anthony Wayne

ANTHONY WAYNE was one of the most colorful of all the commanders-in-chief that the Army of the United States has ever had. Some have acclaimed him as the first native-born military genius, whose greatness as an organizer of troops and as a military planner is only now beginning to be recognized at its full worth. Because of his brilliant exploits during the American Revolution, he was regarded as a military hero in his own time, but his greatest achievement came after 1792. With a new American army, the Legion of the United States, which he organized and drilled, Wayne defeated hostile Indians of the Northwest Territory at Fallen Timbers in 1794, and then made peace with them at Greenville in 1795, putting an end to Indian raids and opening Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania to settlement.

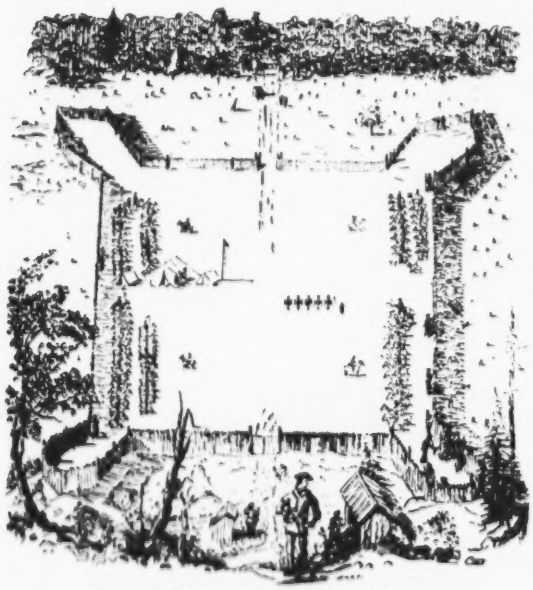
Born on January 1, 1745, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, Anthony was the only son of Isaac and Elizabeth (Iddings) Wayne and was named for his grandfather, Captain Anthony Wayne, a veteran of Marlborough's campaigns. His birthplace, the family home called Waynesborough, built by his grandfather in 1724, still stands about six miles from the borough of Wayne and about three miles from Paoli. Young Anthony's school record was far from outstanding. The most remarkable incident of his school days was a sham battle in which Wayne and his classmates re-enacted the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in 1759. He was punished for this escapade, but it showed his awareness of what was going on in the world as well as his inclination toward a military career. In school he learned enough mathematics to make him a competent surveyor and in 1765, when he was twenty years old, a land company sent him to look after the surveying of lands in Nova Scotia. During the winter he returned to Philadelphia and married Mary Penrose, the daughter of a Philadelphia merchant. The Nova Scotia land venture failed in 1766, and Wayne went back to Chester County to run the family farm and tannery in partnership with his father. His father's death in 1775 made him a man of means and position.

Despite his wealth and comfortable situation, Anthony Wayne did not hesitate when the issues leading to the American Revolution were drawn. In his county he became a leader of the people who objected to British efforts to tighten control over the colonies. He presided over committees in his county which framed resolutions of protest against the British coercive acts and enforced the agreement against the importation of British goods. In 1775 he represented Chester County in the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Finally, on January 3, 1776, he accepted a commission as colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion and began his military career.

Anthony Wayne has been called the "trouble shooter of the Revolution" by a recent biographer, Harry Emerson Wildes. This phrase well describes his services in the Continental Army. He seemed to be everywhere at once —recruiting, drilling, disciplining, fighting, and raising sup-

plies. Difficult assignments, insuperable tasks, dangerous feats were the stock in trade of this energetic and self-reliant soldier. The nickname, "Mad Anthony," which is said to have originated in the drunken babbling of a disgruntled soldier, reflects his quick temper. Wayne was impetuous and swift to action, but he was not rash or foolhardy. As a commander he was cautious, and even his most glamorous deeds were based upon careful and painstaking plans.

In the spring of 1776 Wayne and his battalion went with the Pennsylvania brigade to reinforce the Canadian expedition, through which Congress had hoped to gain another colony for the American cause. By his personal bravery and leadership Wayne held his troops together to cover the retreat of the American army after the defeat at Three Rivers on the St. Lawrence. Congress abandoned the effort to win Canada, and Wayne was placed in command of Fort Ticonderoga. Here he had for the first time the thankless task of maintaining discipline among troops from various states who were disinclined to follow the orders of a Pennsylvania commander. Commanding Fort Ticonderoga was not as enjoyable as his childhood game of fighting for it. In February, 1777, he was made a brigadier general, and in April he left Ticonderoga to join Washington at Morristown, New Jersey, and take command of the Pennsylvania Line.



General Wayne's encampment at Greenville

After a period of drilling and training, during which Wayne showed his customary concern for the proper equipment and uniforming of his men, the Pennsylvania Line fought in the campaign against the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777. After the British army landed in Maryland and marched north, Wayne and his men were with the American army which attempted to stop them at Brandywine Creek on September 11. His troops held the center of the defense at Chadd's Ford. The American army, however, was outflanked by a British force which crossed the Brandywine higher up, and in the fierce fighting which followed Wayne's troops held the stream crossing until the rest of the army was out of danger. Washington retired north of the Schuylkill River and sent Wayne to circle around and harass the British in order to delay their advance on Philadelphia. This led to the greatest disaster of Wayne's military career.

In an attack before dawn on September 20, the British fell upon his force of 1,500 men encamped at Paoli, not far from his birthplace. The British had learned the position of his camp from Tory spies. Wayne himself was warned by an old farmer of the approach of the British but not soon enough to get his men completely ready. The British moved up while it was still dark and slaughtered more than two hundred men before Wayne could get his forces organized to fight a rear-guard action. Because of the number killed by the cold steel of bayonets, this affair was known as the "Paoli Massacre." Although Wayne kept his head in the midst of confusion and gave the proper orders to get the rest of his men away safely, he was later accused of negligence. He asked for a court-martial, which acquitted him unanimously and called him "an active, brave and vigilant officer." In the career of almost every great military leader, similar disasters can be found, caused by sheer bad luck or an unforeseen combination of circumstances, but the measure of Wayne's greatness was his ability to meet disaster.

The British had occupied Philadelphia after the Battle of Brandywine. Washington planned a surprise attack on the elements of the British forces stationed at Germantown, five miles from

the city. The Americans failed of success in this Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777, because the stubborn British defense of the Chew House enabled them to get reinforcements in time. Again, Wayne and his troops were the rear guard covering the retreat of the American army. During the bitter winter at Valley Forge, Wayne kept "the esteem and confidence" of his men and led foraging expeditions to gather grain and cattle to feed the army. On one occasion in southern New Jersey, he and the Polish general, Count Casimir Pulaski, with six hundred men attacked and frightened away a British force of four thousand. When word came to Valley Forge in early June, 1778, that the British were leaving Philadelphia and moving across New Jersey to New York City, Wayne and his Pennsylvanians were among the first to leave the winter encampment in pursuit of the enemy, and they had an important part in the Battle of Monmouth on June 28, the occasion when Mary Hays, the wife of a Pennsylvania soldier, gained the nickname of "Molly Pitcher."

In the spring of 1779 Wayne was placed in command of a separate corps of light infantry, which was formed of picked units from various states. With this corps on July 16, 1779, he carried out his most famous exploit, the surprise and capture of the British post at Stony Point on the Hudson River. Cannon, military stores, and more than five hundred prisoners were captured with this fort. Congress presented a medal to him for this victory. In 1780 his corps was stationed in the lower Hudson Valley, to hinder the British in New York City from gathering cattle and other supplies. When Benedict Arnold turned traitor and there was danger that West Point might fall to the British, Wayne marched his men sixteen miles at night over mountainous country in four hours and prevented the loss of this important post. The Pennsylvania troops mutinied in December, 1780, because of grievances over pay and term of service. Wayne helped to restore order and persuaded the Pennsylvania government to take care of their complaints.

In 1781 Wayne recruited new Pennsylvania troops and served under Lafayette in the Yorktown campaign against the British under Lord Cornwallis. During this service in Virginia on the lower James River, Wayne was ordered to attack what was supposedly only a detachment of the British army, but which was really Cornwallis' entire army. In a seemingly hopeless situation, outnumbered nearly ten to one, Wayne ordered a charge into the British army, a bold move which was so unexpected that his men got safely away. This battle at Green Springs, July 6, 1781, was the most startling success of his career.

The Anthony Wayne Blockhouse at Erie

After the Yorktown campaign had been successfully concluded by the surrender of the main British army, Wayne was sent to Georgia where the British, Loyalists, and hostile Indians were still virtually in control. As his forces and supplies were inadequate, his service there was a series of disappointments, but he held the field, and defeated the Creek Indians in June, 1782. On July 12 his troops marched into Savannah as the British army sailed away, and after that he helped to restore order in that war-ravaged state.

In 1783 he retired from the army with the brevet rank of major-general.

Wayne's civilian life from 1783 to 1792 was less happy than his military career had been. The State of Georgia granted him an estate for his Revolutionary services; he ran into debt to improve it and lost it by foreclosure. He ventured into politics again both in Pennsylvania and Georgia without much success. In Pennsylvania he served in the General Assembly and in the Council of Censors, where his party failed in an attempt to revise the State Constitution. He was elected to Congress from Georgia, but in a few months lost his seat because of charges of irregularity in the election.

The treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783 had left some unfinished business, the actual establishment of United States authority over the western lands. Although by the treaty the territory south of the Great Lakes was ceded to the United States, it was actually held by unfriendly Indians whom the British encouraged to resist the advance of American settlement, in the hope of creating an Indian buffer state between the United States and Canada. The United States tried to bring these Indians under control and to open the Northwest Territory to settlement, first by peaceful means through treaties, and later by military expeditions. These efforts collapsed in 1791, when an army under General Arthur St. Clair was seriously defeated.

President Washington decided both to reopen negotiations for peace with the western Indians and to build an army capable of imposing United States authority if the peace negotiations failed. To carry out these plans, Anthony Wayne was appointed as major-general in 1792 to command a new American army, called the Legion of the United States. He set up a training camp at Legionville, present-day Ambridge, Pennsylvania, and drilled and trained his soldiers to create a reliable and effective force. Cornplanter, the famous Seneca leader, tried to make peace between the United States and the western Indians at some risk of his life, for Wayne worried about his "safe return" in 1792. In March, 1793, Cornplanter visited Legionville and urged Wayne to hold back his army until United States commissioners could talk with the western Indians, and Wayne agreed in accordance with Washington's plans.

The failure of these negotiations was Wayne's signal to move in the fall of 1793. Although he had been restless about delay, he advanced slowly, building roads and forts, making sure of his supplies, and sending out scouts. The next summer, he advanced into the heart of hostile territory, building more forts. About fifteen miles up the Maumee River from present Toledo, Ohio, Wayne's army finally met the main force of the Indians not far from the British post called Fort Miamis, and defeated them in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794. This battle, together with the British refusal to help their allies, led to the submission of the Indians at the Treaty of Greenville in August, 1795.

Meanwhile, Jay's Treaty settled the existing disputes with the British, who agreed to withdraw from the posts on United States territory which they had been holding since the Revolution. In 1796 Wayne received orders to occupy these posts. On his return from a triumphal visit to Detroit, he landed at the new Pennsylvania fort at Presque Isle (Erie). There he fell ill and died on December 15, 1796, in the northwest blockhouse of Fort Presque Isle. He was buried at the foot of the flagpole of the fort, but in 1809 his son removed his bones to Radnor churchyard, Chester County. A replica of the original blockhouse stands on the site of his first grave on the grounds of the Pennsylvania Soldiers and Sailors Home at Erie.

Today this great and colorful soldier is remembered in numerous place names throughout the United States and especially in Pennsylvania and the states formed from the Northwest Territory. In Pennsylvania alone, a county, nine townships, and the boroughs of Wayne, Waynesboro, and Waynesburg bear his name, and fifteen other states have Wayne Counties.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1976. Revised edition, second printing. Text by Donald H. Kent. Edited by S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent. Sketches by Guy Colt.

Stephen Foster

Maker of American Songs

IN THE Hall of Fame for Great Americans at New York University where the most distinguished men in the history of our country are enshrined in statuary and memorial tablets, there is only one musician. Stephen Collins Foster, the creator of the first distinctively American musical idiom, the singer of the commonplace, the elemental, and the democratic, stands with William Penn and Benjamin Franklin to represent Pennsylvania's contribution to our national heritage.

Stephen Foster is the only maker of songs so far honored by admittance to the company of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and the others whose names are an imperishable part of the story of America. No city or state or section of the country can completely claim such men. They belong to the nation and the world.

It is nevertheless true that Stephen Collins Foster was a Pennsylvanian, born in Pittsburgh on July 4, 1826, and a resident of that community for most of his life. It was the place he loved best and the place where most of his great songs were written. He left his home often, but always to return—the last time in death.

Someone has said that it is the fate of poets to be quoted and forgotten. At one time this could have been said of Foster. There were few Americans who had not heard his music and sung his songs and loved them, but the identity of the man who created them was until recent years in danger of being lost. His songs almost became folk songs in the fullest sense—songs that grow from a people seemingly without any definite point of origin. Who does not know "Old Black Joe," "Old Folks at Home," "Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair," "My Old Kentucky Home," and "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground"? Certainly many more know these songs than know about their composer, Stephen Foster. This shy, retiring young man was the son of a Pittsburgh businessman and politician. His brother was a builder of the Pennsylvania canal system and the Pennsylvania Railroad, and his sister married the brother of President James Buchanan.

This ninth child of the prosperous Foster family early showed indications of great musical talent. When only nine years old he was singing in children's amateur theatricals; and his family encouraged him in learning to play various musical instruments, in which he showed ability. His first

written musical composition came when he was just fourteen years old. It was "The Tioga Waltz" and was performed in Bradford County at the "exhibition" or commencement of Athens Academy. The youthful Foster had been sent there to spend some time with his elder brother William, who was then working on the construction of the North Branch Canal, and he had been enrolled in the well-known academy at Athens, historic Tioga Point.

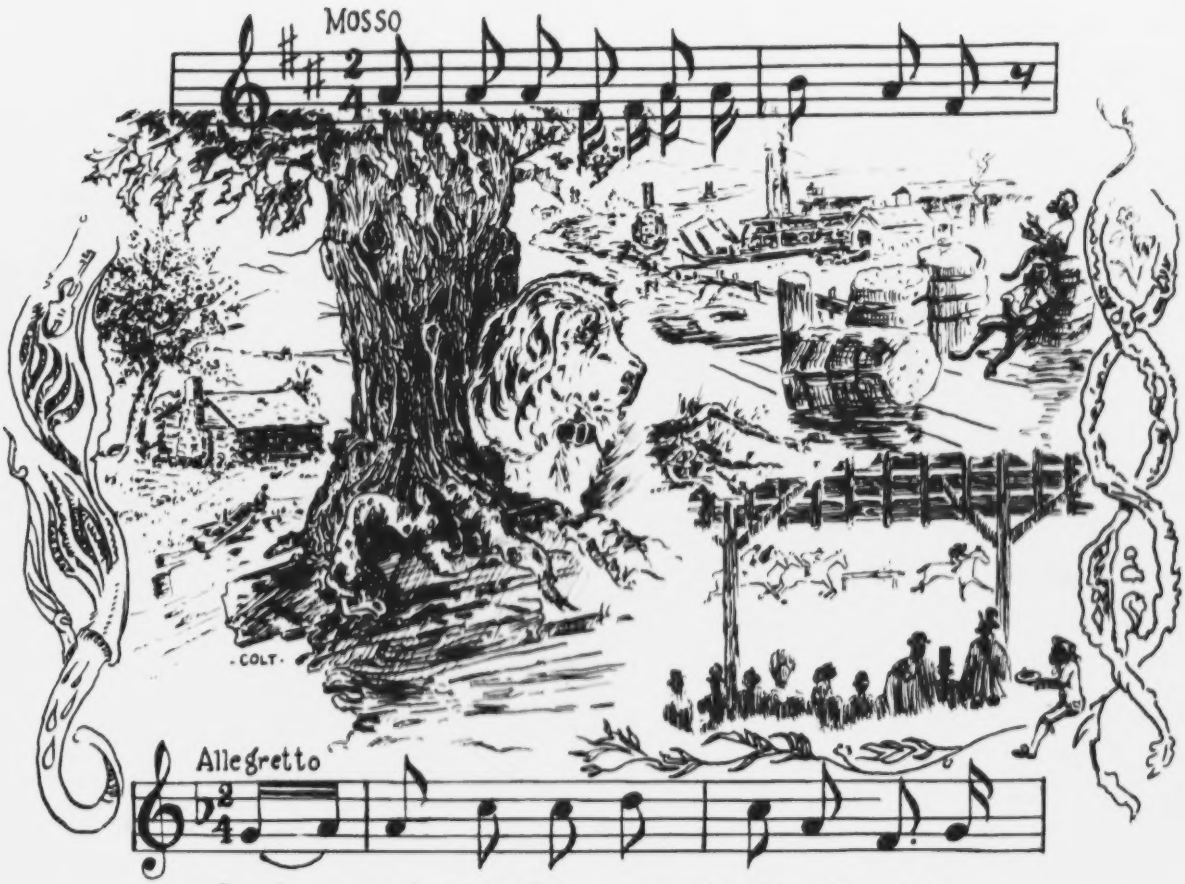
His first published song, "Open Thy Lattice, Love," was on the market when he was eighteen years old. There followed "Old Uncle Ned," "Oh! Susanna," and others, so that by the time Stephen was twenty-one his songs were becoming known throughout the country. That was the great age of the minstrel show where both rousing songs and sentimental ballads found a place. Many of Foster's early songs were composed especially for such minstrel troupes, and about 1850 he made a business arrangement with the greatest of the contemporary minstrel showmen. He gave John P. Christy, leader of the famous Christy Minstrels, the right to make first performances of his songs, in return for which the title pages of the songs when printed bore the statement that they were "As Sung by the Christy Minstrels." In this way the greatest minstrel troupe of the day helped to promote Stephen Foster's songs.

The Old-Time Minstrel Show

Until his untimely death at thirty-seven years of age, Foster continued to compose. There is record today of more than two hundred songs and compositions, some of them still sung not only in our own country but in places as remote as China, Australia, and Africa. He wrote songs in negro dialect and in good English, humorous ditties, sentimental parlor songs, love ballads, and hymns. The "Forty-Niners," those almost legendary heroes of the California "gold rush" days adopted "Oh! Susanna" as their theme song; northern soldiers in the Civil War sang "My Old Kentucky Home"; while the southerners sang plaintively of "Old Folks at Home." In spite of his Democratic leanings and his relationship by marriage to President Buchanan, Foster even wrote a Civil War recruiting song, "We Are Coming, Father Abraham, One Hundred Thousand Strong." His songs have been freely adapted by political parties for campaign purposes since 1848; symphonic arrangements have been made of them and played before enthusiastically receptive audiences; eminent singers have included his songs in their repertoires; and schools, homes, churches, and all sorts of assemblages have used his melodies through the years. His works are as popular today as ever.

For his deathless music Stephen Foster received poor pay and little glory, if measured by modern standards. Some of this may be attributed to his own lack of business sense. It should be remembered, however, that there was then no international copyright and no organization to enforce payment for the right to perform his compositions; something which composers have today thanks to the efforts of an adoptive Pennsylvanian, Victor Herbert. Foster's chief source of income was in royalties from the sale of published music. Even with the limitations of that period, he received more than fifteen thousand dollars for his songs between 1849 and 1860. With average earnings of about fourteen hundred dollars a year in the 1850's he had sufficient income to consider marriage.

Stephen Foster married Jane Denny McDowell, daughter of a Pittsburgh physician, on July 22, 1850. They had one daughter, Marion, in 1851, about the time when he wrote his most famous song, "Old Folks at Home." But their marriage was not happy, and the clashes of their temperaments led to several separations. His domestic problems, the death of his parents in 1855, and



Some famous songs by Stephen Foster are suggested in this composite picture

his monetary troubles bore upon him heavily, and unfortunately he often sought refuge in alcohol. Under such circumstances, the quality of his compositions declined in his later years.

In 1860 he moved to New York City, but his income fell so low that his wife and daughter had to return to western Pennsylvania where Mrs. Foster became a telegraph operator for the Pennsylvania Railroad at Greensburg. Refusing any help from his family, Stephen Foster sank into poverty in the New York of Civil War days. In the summer of 1863, in one final outpouring of creative power, he wrote "Beautiful Dreamer," one of his finest compositions; but this was the last of the great songs from his pen, and it was not published during his lifetime. Broken in health and alone, he died on January 13, 1864, in Bellevue Hospital at New York City. Hospital attendants found in his pockets just thirty-eight cents and a final message, "Dear Friends and Gentle Hearts." The latter phrase, penciled on a scrap of paper, is thought to be the theme which Foster planned to use in his next song. After his death, his wife and his brother Morrison took his body back to Pittsburgh, and he now lies in Allegheny Cemetery. Strangely enough, the hospital where he died is only a few blocks away from the Hall of Fame where his bronze bust now occupies a place of honor.

More than ever Stephen Collins Foster is today being appreciated for what he was—the first American, *really American*, composer. Before and during his lifetime other composers were writing music in America, but it was not really American music; rather, it was music imitative of European styles. Foster wrote of American people in Ameri-

can situations. The sentiments of friendship, home, loyalty, love, simplicity, and humbleness that fill his works are universally understood and loved, but the situations and characters from which they developed are always specifically and unmistakably American—as American as the broad reaches of the Mississippi River, as the covered wagon and the western frontier.

In the busy western Pennsylvania metropolis which Foster knew as home, there stands today on the campus of the University of Pittsburgh a magnificent building memorializing his genius. This Stephen Collins Foster Memorial houses a library devoted to Foster's music and related works. Here are also to be found personal belongings, original manuscripts and records, family records, and pictures—all carefully preserved.

The Stephen Collins Foster Memorial at the University of Pittsburgh

This son of Pennsylvania has memorials in other states. Kentucky has made "My Old Kentucky Home" its state song, and preserves Federal Hill in Bardstown, Kentucky, as a state shrine, assuming that Foster visited relatives there and thus was inspired to write the song. Florida has made "Old Folks at Home" its state song and has developed a Stephen Foster Memorial State Park on the banks of the Suwannee River. These are only the most notable memorials to Foster, for there are many others.

Although Pennsylvania has no state song from the pen of Stephen Foster, Pennsylvanians take pride in the tributes from other states and are convinced that his melodic songs are simply an expression of the American heritage of culture and music which he knew in their own Keystone State.

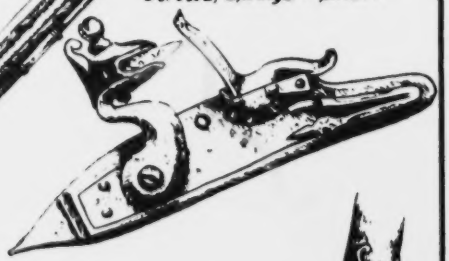
Stephen C. Foster

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1977. Revised edition, second printing. Text by Joseph T. Kingston; sketches by Guy Colt; edited by S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent.

14

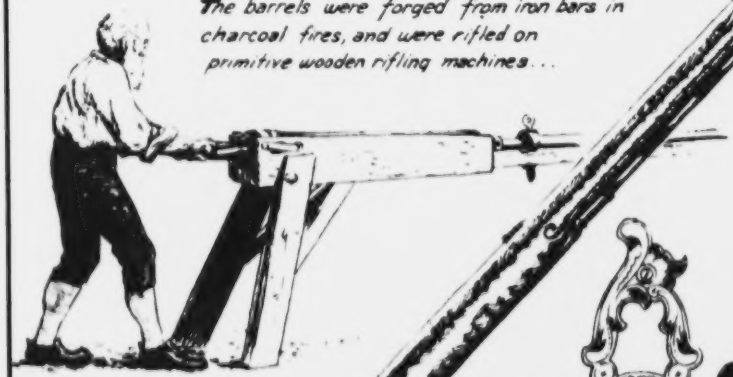
the Pennsylvania Rifle

Although known for years as the "Kentucky Rifle", the celebrated long rifle of muzzle-loading days was developed in Lancaster County, Pa, & built chiefly in the shops of such Pennsylvania gunmakers as the Henrys, John Armstrong, Mathew Roesser, N. Beyer, the Lemans, D. Cooley, Henry Koons, John Moll, the Dreppards, Philip Lefevre, the Zorgers & others...



Early locks were entirely hand-made— down to the smallest Screws, springs & pins...

The barrels were forged from iron bars in charcoal fires, and were rifled on primitive wooden rifling machines...



Stocks were made of native maple, carefully selected for beauty of grain. Many were embellished with intricate carved designs...

Patchboxes, thimbles, butt plates, trigger guards and the various inlays found on the long rifles were fashioned from brass or silver, and were usually decorated with delicate engraving..

A leather hunting bag containing lead balls, a knife, patching material and a horn full of powder usually accompanied the woodsman and his rifle...

Superbly accurate, the Pennsylvania rifle won fame on the frontiers of America—feeding hungry mouths, defending pioneer homes and establishing the freedom of the Colonies.

C. Stanley Sayre

The Pennsylvania Rifle

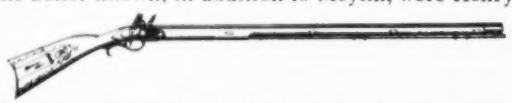
On a Pequea Valley farm in the Mennonite region of southern Lancaster County stands a small, sturdy structure built of rough fieldstone. This is the workshop of Martin Meylin, a Swiss gunsmith whose pioneer work within this crude structure during the early 1700's marked the appearance of a new type of firearm, the Pennsylvania rifle.

Two centuries and more ago when most of Pennsylvania was primitive woodland, settlers placed chief reliance upon their rifles for sustenance, security, and survival. With it the frontiersman provided meat for the table, furs and skins for trade, and protection for his family. In the hands of the "Tomahawks" — expert marksmen — it helped win several decisive engagements in the War for Independence and rendered similar service in the War of 1812. Westward beyond the mountains, across the broad river valleys, and out onto the plains, it was carried by trader, trapper, Indian fighter, hunter, prospector, and settler. The story of the Pennsylvania rifle is a good illustration of America's debt to Europe for a germinal idea, but in the evolution and application of the idea there is impressive demonstration of ingenuity by the early settlers and adaptiveness to conditions encountered in the New World. The role of the rifle in American history soon becomes evident as the story of independence, expansion, and exploitation unfolds.

Before the heavy migrations from the Continent began in the opening decades of the eighteenth century, the firearm in general use in colonial America was the English smooth-bore musket. Among the numerous German and Swiss immigrants coming into Penn's colony were craftsmen such as Meylin who were skilled in the making of the Jaeger, a short, heavy hunting rifle, and the Swiss mountain rifle, a lighter, longer firearm. The distinctive feature of both guns was the rifled barrel, an idea developed and applied late in the fifteenth century by Caspar Zöllner, a Viennese gunsmith. (Some authorities give the name as Gaspard Zeller, and place him in Nuremburg during the sixteenth century.) From experience, huntsmen stalking boar and deer at close range in the German forests, and Alpine hunters out after mountain sheep and wild goats, had learned that the twist given to a ball shot from a rifled barrel increased both its range and its accuracy. Conservatism and traditional military tactics seem to have prevented the acceptance of the rifled barrel in aristocratic and military circles, for the scant evidence of its use suggests that it was used primarily by common people.

In their new home in eastern Pennsylvania the migrant gunsmiths found immediate welcome. The first guns made by the newcomers were essentially counterparts of those used in Europe, but it was soon obvious that these were too heavy, of too large bore, badly sighted, hard to load, and too unwieldy for the prolonged trips of hunters and settlers into the wilderness. Conditions of the new environment, abetted by the complaints and suggestions of their backwoods patrons, compelled the gunsmiths to make numerous changes on the older models until they had produced a distinctive weapon that was light in weight, graceful of line, sparing of powder and lead, and deadly accurate in the hands of an experienced rifleman.

A typical Pennsylvania rifle weighed from seven to nine pounds, its overall length was a symmetrical fifty-five inches from muzzle to butt plate, and its .45 caliber ball could kill man or beast at 300 yards or "bark" a squirrel from the tallest tree. Known also, at a later time, as the "Kentucky" rifle because of the feats performed with it by Daniel Boone and other woodsmen in winning the land beyond the mountains, this superb weapon was the handiwork of several generations of Pennsylvania gunsmiths. Among the better known, in addition to Meylin, were Henry



Albright, Daniel Boyer, Matthew and Peter Roesser, Thomas Butler, Jacob Dechard, Peter and Henry Leman, Philip Lefevre, Henry Dreppard, numerous members of the William Henry family, and several Pannabeckers.

The first rifle shops appeared along streams in and around Lancaster, a location that sometimes has led to the more particular name of the "Lancaster" rifle. But as settlement moved westward and northward, gunsmiths plied their trade in Berks, Lebanon, Lehigh, Northampton, Snyder, and Union counties, and throughout the Cumberland Valley. Records show that Pennsylvania gunsmiths were also induced to migrate into several parts of New York colony, and at the time of the American Revolution Pennsylvania rifles were being made in

Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. It is a question whether the German and Swiss makers ever held a monopoly of the business for any length of time, for English features are evident on some of the older rifles, and makers' names inscribed on many guns are unquestionably English, Welsh, and Scotch-Irish. Though Germanic in origin, the perfected Pennsylvania rifle was the product of the talents of ingenious and inventive artisans of several nationalities whose final handiwork scarcely resembled the parent types from which it had been developed.

Making a rifle in the eighteenth century was a slow, painstaking task requiring about a week's time. Its cost might vary from $10 to $50 or more depending upon the ornamentation and engraving given it, but when finished it had individual characteristics that distinguished it from all other guns. A name expressing pride or endearment was often given a gun by its owner — "Old Sure Fire," "Indian Lament," "Deer Killer" — thus imparting to this individually made weapon a personality.

Of the forty to fifty parts that went into its construction, the barrel was the most important and the one that required most skill. In the absence of boring machines capable of cutting a straight hole through an iron bar forty or more inches in length, the smith and his apprentice heated a bar of prescribed length and then bent and welded it around a rod somewhat smaller than the desired bore. This was tedious and could be aggravating if bar and rod were accidentally welded together. Superstition dictated that welding be done from the middle toward both ends in order to purge any devils that might be up to troublesome pranks. Annealing was done by burying the barrel in a fire of chestnut wood and allowing it to remain there until the ashes had cooled. It was now soft enough for fashioning the outside of the barrel into the conventional octagon shape; this was sometimes done with a drawknife, but more commonly by forging and the use of swadges, fullers, and flatters. A steel-edged bit cut the specified bore and this was then straightened by running a taut thread along the bottom of the bore; where the thread did not touch the bore the barrel was struck with a heavy lead hammer with just enough force to take out the kinks and not produce others.

The barrel was then placed on the rifling machine for cutting spiral grooves into the bore. The most common rifling process cut seven square-shaped grooves; some rifles had more or fewer grooves, and the shapes varied, some being ratchet, concave, or "V" shaped. Widths and depths of the grooves also varied, as did the degree of twist, though one turn in forty-eight inches was something of a standard. Rough spots and blemishes in the grooves were then smoothed off with an abrasive material affixed to an iron rod, which was pushed back and forth through the bore. Final work on the barrel consisted of threading the breech with a handmade top, screwing the breech plug into position, and affixing front and rear sights; sights were fashioned by hand out of iron, brass, or German silver. The last step was browning or blacking

the barrel with cider vinegar or a combination of chemicals to prevent rusting. Of equal importance, it also lessened the chances of a rifleman betraying himself to game or enemy by reflected sunlight glinting along the barrel of his gun.

Locks for the rifles were sometimes made by the gunsmiths, but locksmiths who specialized in their making supplied many. The frequent appearance of the names "Ketland and Company" and "Bird and Company" stamped on locks indicates that these English firms were important sources of supply. The hammer of the lock was forged on the anvil and then filed into graceful, accurate shape; springs were fashioned from old swords, bayonets, and saws, and so carefully tempered in a charcoal forge that many of them today retain their elasticity. Nearly all flints were imported from England because of their superiority to any found locally. Triggers and parts of the trigger plate were made by hand, generally of simpler and sturdier design than those found on European guns. A second or "set" trigger that reduced trigger pull and muscle tremor was later added.

Favorite among woods for the gun stock was the curly maple, but walnut, cherry, and apple were also used. Supplies of stock blanks were kept on hand and seasoned over long periods of time. The channel into which the barrel fitted, the lock mortise, cheek piece, and patch box were carefully carved into the stock before it was finally sanded smooth, stained, and sometimes slightly charred to bring out the beauty of the grain. If not sufficiently decorative, a tiger-stripe decoration might be given the stock.

Early rifles were somewhat plain and devoid of ornament; later makes were richly decorated with brass, silver, and occasionally gold inlays, in the form of stars, crescents, birds, dogs, fish, rabbits, and other designs. Relief carvings with similar motifs are to be found on rifle butts and on cheek pieces. These were not solely decorative for in the mind of the owner they endowed his weapon and himself with mystical powers over the creatures pictured. In the patch box, a hole

cut into the right side of the stock and covered with an elaborate circular or oblong brass plate, were carried greased skin or linen patches to be wrapped around the balls when loading the rifle. Tokens, amulets, and pieces of paper bearing a cross or star and a magical incantation have been found in patch boxes. One saying of occult force that might turn a man's weapon into a "Freischutz" — a rifle that never fails — reads:

> Load a gun with a bullet, cast on a crossroad on Christmas Eve, and it will hit the mark or bring down the game without fail.

Ramrods for loading and wiping were made of hickory and frequently striped in the manner of a candy stick or barber pole. Powder was carried in a translucent horn. Bullets, commonly ranging from .30 to .45 caliber, and lead, mold, and extra flints and patches went into the buckskin bag that hung from the hunter's shoulder.

When friction between her colonies and Great Britain reached the point where talk of independence was in the air, the following expression of confidence in the rightness of their cause and the effectiveness of their weapons was proclaimed by some citizens of Lancaster County:

> Resolved from Hanover Township, Lancaster County, June 4, 1774; that in the event of Great Britain attempting to force unjust laws upon us by the strength of arms, our cause we leave to heaven and to our rifles.

Early in the conflict gunsmithing was placed under virtual control of the Continental Congress, which fixed the prices for guns and decreed that gunsmiths deliver all guns to the patriot army or be branded as enemies and deprived of the tools of their trade. Pennsylvania rifle-makers helped materially to supply the nine companies of riflemen that were raised in this State and placed initially under the command of Colonel William Thompson, of Carlisle.

The defeat suffered by the riflemen under Benedict Arnold in the ill-fated attack on Quebec was avenged somewhat by the later victories at Saratoga and at King's Mountain, where the "Tomahawks" comprised a large part of the American forces. Major Patrick Ferguson, commander of loyalist American troops fighting for the British army, who was killed by a rifle bullet at King's Mountain, had had his unit experiment with a breech-loading rifle of his own invention at the battle of the Brandywine. He had urged its adoption by the British army, but the musket continued to be used commonly by all European armies until well into the nineteenth century.

The bloody repulse of the British at New Orleans early in January, 1815, by the riflemen of Tennessee and Kentucky under Andrew Jackson's command is another epic in the saga of this historic firearm. Westward across the plains, over the mountains, and beyond the sunsets it was carried by hunter, trader, prospector, and settler. Indians respected the "firestick" and learned to use it against the white intruders in many forays that chronicle the struggle for the West. To the south

and west our national domain was in part carved out by the use of the Pennsylvania-type rifle in the war with Mexico.

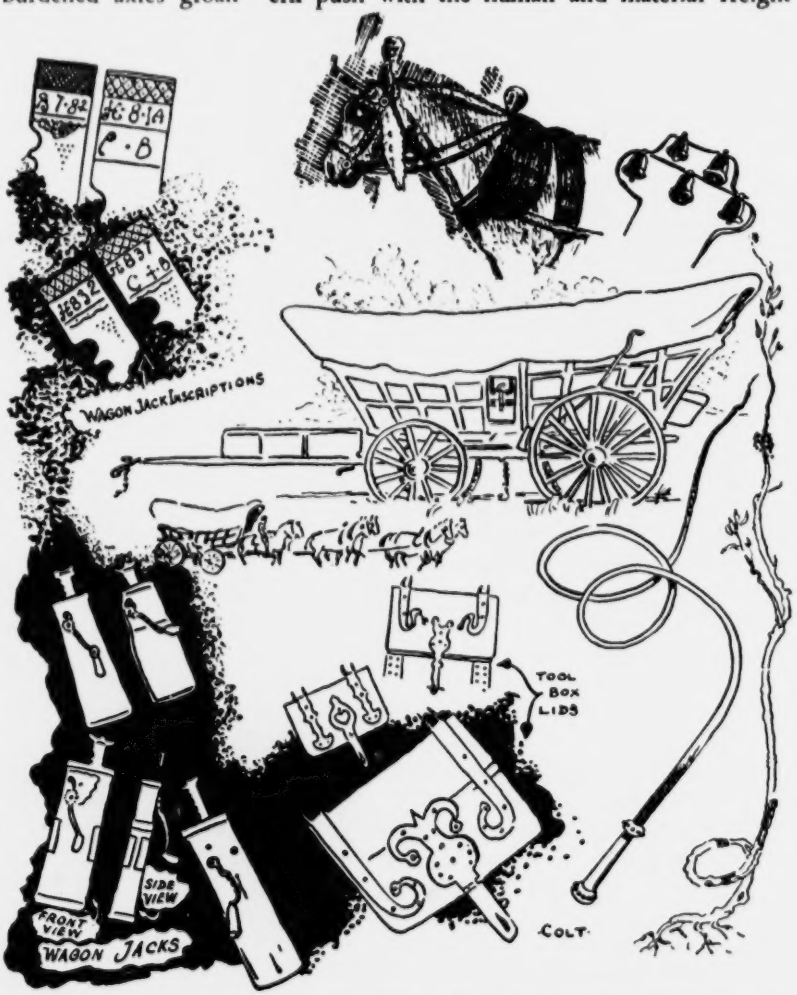
But the mid-century decades brought a number of changes in gunmaking that completely outmoded the older firearm. Some were converted into percussion rifles and used in the opening engagements of the Civil War. Today the flintlock is a museum piece or a collector's item. To see and handle it is to admire its beauty of line and ornament, and to remember with gratitude that in the hands of its hardy and resourceful owner it had helped win a continent, and freedom for a nation's people.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburgh, 1976. Second edition. Text by Norman B. Wilkinson; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter; illustration, first page, courtesy Pennsylvania Game Commission.

THE CONESTOGA WAGON

WAGONS WEST!

At last the signal. With a crack of the whip impatient drivers urge their teams forward. White tops shudder and burdened axles groan through their grease. As the lumbering wagons move, the family cow, tied to the end gate, is jerked from her contented cud-chewing. Excited dogs chase each other around and under the wagons with yelps of anticipation as anxious mothers hastily round up scattered youngsters and stow them on top of family gear beneath the broad-hooped canvas cover.



It could be any year in the 1840's, and the great adventure is about to begin again for another band of migrants starting the long trek westward. They go in quest of land, homes, or perhaps in search of the "New Jerusalem." To take them safely across the vast stretches of plains and prairie country, through unknown river gorges and rocky mountain passes, they entrust their lives to the ability of their leaders, the providence of God, and the security of their wagons. For weeks on end, once they have left Independence, St. Joe, Kansas City, or one of the other "jumping off" places, the wagon is to be home and fortress, and where needed, a boat.

The saga of the wagon train has been colorfully preserved in song, legend, and movie, reproduced in numerous anniversary celebrations, and recorded in the soberer annals of history. All parts of the Atlantic seaboard fed the western push with the human and material freight that journeyed first into the Ohio Valley, on to the Mississippi and Missouri, and thence across plains and mountain country that lay ever beyond the horizon.

Upon first thought Pennsylvania's part in the westward push of the mid-1800's does not seem

very direct. Glancing back a generation or two, however, it is quickly evident that it was one of the principal channels of movement. Philadelphia had been, and continued to be, a leading port of entry; Braddock and Forbes had cut roads of a sort into the far corner of the colony, and Pennsylvanians had created the first trans-Allegheny frontier. Pittsburgh was the gateway to the west when white civilization terminated in the Ohio Valley, and in later years the State Road and the National Road had carried a flooding tide of settlers into that country. Other routes led into the valley of the Shenandoah and through the Cumberland Gap, from whence the newcomers spilled into the southwest. The Pennsylvania rifle had helped tame that wilderness and it rendered like service to those who now carried it further into the hinterland. As we picture the head of the family striding alongside his oxen or team of horses, a closer inspection of the vehicle containing his wife, children, and all his earthly goods, will reveal that it too, with some slight changes, was patterned after another Pennsylvania product—the Conestoga wagon.

The name "Conestoga" has been applied to an early Indian group, to a valley, to a river, to a trail and road, to a manor, and to a breed of horses now extinct. All of these are identified with Lancaster County, and it was across her rich farmlands and on the pike connecting Lancaster town with Philadelphia that the massive four-wheeled wagon, drawn by four or six Conestoga horses, first appeared. For its construction skilled workmen were available. About 1770, Lancaster alone numbered among its craftsmen five wheelwrights, thirteen blacksmiths, twenty joiners and seven turners.

Wagoners and taverns were inevitable complements, so it is not strange to find that the first reference to the name in print appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* February 26, 1750, where mention is made of a tavern on Market Street between Fourth and Fifth, named the "Conestoga Wagon." At the other end of the Conestoga Road, later the Lancaster Road, the wagoner could feed and rub down his horses, fortify himself with good food and ale, and swap yarns before stretching out for a night's rest on the floor of Christian Martin's excellent tavern, "The Sign of the Conestoga Waggon." Driving a six-horse team pulling a load of four to six tons over 63 miles of narrow rutted road demanded toughness and stamina from driver, team, and wagon.

Aside from the use of a saw and a turning lathe, everything about the Conestoga wagon was home made with hand tools. Its graceful, boat-shaped bed was usually fashioned out of white oak for the frame and poplar for the boards. Flooring and side boards were a half inch or five-eighths of an inch thick; if the wagon was to be used for carrying ore at an iron furnace, the boards would be cut thicker. There was little uniformity in its dimensions, but the wagon bed measured approximately sixteen feet in length, four feet in width, and the same in depth, with a sag toward the center. This last feature took the weight of the load off the end gates if the cargo shifted as the wagon made its way up and down hilly country. The end gates were held in position by a chain and staple that allowed the gate to be dropped for loading and unloading. Many parts of the wagon bed were braced with iron, and hand-made rivets secured the boards to the frame.

Arching over the wagon bed was a series of soaring wooden hoops securely stapled to the side boards. Depending upon the size of the wagon, these might number from six to thirteen, and over them was stretched the familiar white top of homespun or canvas. Roped to the side boards and drawn taut over the projecting end bows, the canopy stretched twenty-four feet or more, giving the impression of a great sheltering poke bonnet.

The test of a good wagon was in its axles and hubs, and in their construction the wheelwright was most exacting. Axles and bolsters were made out of tough hickory wood and the hubs from black or sour gum, a fibrous wood with high splitting resistance. The rough roads traveled by the wagons made it essential that axles, hubs, wheel spokes and felloes be sturdily built. For getting out of miry places and crossing streams the iron tire rim had to have a broad surface. Experience proved a four-inch rim most satisfactory, but widths varied from two to six inches. The wheelwright had to properly shape the axle and dish the wheels to stand the strain of heavy loads and absorb the shock of rough roads. Dishing involved the precise cutting of mortises in both the hub and the inside of the felloes so that the spokes would incline outward from the hub at precisely the correct angle.

Iron tires were usually made of two pieces of iron a half inch thick, bent to the exact size of

the wheel and welded at both joints. Fitting the iron rim over the wooden wheel was quite a ceremony, and a blacksmith's job that called for dexterity and an exact sense of heat judgment. A fire was built around the iron rim and when thought to be sufficiently hot it was lifted off by means of tongs, placed around the wooden wheel and hammered into place. Cold water was then poured over the hot iron to shrink it to a tight fit. If the iron was too hot it might burn the wheel, if not hot enough there was danger of a poor fit, and if cooled too suddenly the rim would split. The front wheels of the wagon as a freighter stood about 3 feet 6 inches high, and the rear wheels might vary from 4 feet to 4 feet 6 inches.

Numerous items from the smith's shop went into the wagon's construction. Stay chains made of hand-forged links of infinite variety held end gates in place; the tool box on the left side of the wagon just back of the lazy board was ornately ironed and hinged. An axe rested in a decorated socket, and the wagon tongue and feed box were both strengthened and beautified by fancy ironwork. Brake shafts, linch pins, hooks, staples and latches were other metal accoutrements.

Like the cautious motorist of today the wagoner would not venture a trip without his wagon jack. The worn condition of those that remain witnesses to their necessary and frequent use. For many years the blacksmith who "ironed" the wagon also made the jack, and, as it served in a fashion to identify the owner of the wagon, his initials and date of making of the wagon were cut into the pillar of the jack. Loads of four tons and more had to be raised by the jack so it had to be solidly built. As a piece of vital, standard equipment its use was not limited to surmounting the customary hazards of the road but it was used regularly to remove the wheels for greasing axles and bearing parts. Ordinarily it was slung on the rear axletree alongside the feed and water buckets and the "teer lödel" or tar bucket that contained the pine tar lubricant.

The Conestoga wagoner, unlike the driver of the later prairie schooner, did not ride inside his wagon but either walked beside his team, rode the wheel horse—the rearmost horse on the left—or perched precariously on the lazy board. This last was a stout oak board that pulled out from beneath the wagon bed immediately in front of the left rear wheel. From this position the driver had a good view of the road ahead and from it he or his assistant operated the brake. The lone wagoner often picked up a hitch-hiker who would work the clumsy brake for him when the going was rough. Driving from the left side of the Conestoga, when all other vehicles were driven from the right, made it a forerunner of the present-day practice of driving on the left side of the vehicle.

In its final coat of paint — invariably it had a Prussian-blue body and bright red running gear — and its white cover, what did the wagon cost? In a day when the dollar commanded far more labor and material, it took four men, the wheelwright and blacksmith and their helpers, two months of continuous work to complete the wagon and its sundry articles of equipment. A completed wagon, approximately twenty-six feet long, eleven feet high, weighing between 3,000 and 3,500 pounds, and capable of holding five hogsheads or thirty barrels of flour, cost about $250.

By contrast, the six powerful Conestoga horses that pulled the wagon were valued in the vicinity of a thousand or twelve hundred dollars. The lineage of the Conestoga horse is not known, and it has now passed from view. One tradition says that William Penn sent three Flemish stallions into the Conestoga Valley where they were bred with Virginia mares. Another supposition is that since most of the earlier ones were black, they were the offspring of the black cart horses common in England, whose ancestors had been those great black horses of France that carried William and his armor-clad Normans to conquest at Hastings. The bays and dappled grays of more recent time were probably the results of mixed breeding with such strains as the Suffolk Punch and Chester Ball.

In temperament the Conestoga was generally docile and steady. He stood over sixteen hands high, well muscled, weighed about 1800 pounds, and his longish stride covered twelve to fourteen miles a day. The wagoner placed his heaviest and best horses nearest the wagon for they had the job of turning and backing. Farmers and wagoners took pride in their animals, kept them well groomed and fed, and went to no little expense in fitting them out with good harness and fancy trimmings. Bridles were adorned with rosettes and sometimes elaborate headbands or pompoms; forelocks and headstalls were gaily trimmed with ribbon and colored loops.

A chorus of vari-toned bells heralded the rumbling approach of the Conestoga, for each

horse sported a set of small musical bells made of brass or iron mounted on a wooden or metal arched frame. Each frame customarily carried four bells, those on the lead horses being the smallest, those on the swing horses somewhat larger, and those on the wheel horses the largest. Without doubt the Conestoga wagon lacked the swift grace of Santa Claus' sleigh, but its merry bells rang out ample notice of its approach with like promise of good things in its capacious interior. The cheery, reassuring statement, "I'll be there with bells on," seems to have originated in wagoning days. In some areas it was the custom for the unlucky wagoner who had to have help get his wagon out of the mud or pulled up a steep grade to surrender his bells to the good samaritan who aided him. For a team to arrive without its bells carried the stigma of inferiority—no really first-class team would ever lack the accompaniment of jingling bells to the clatter of its hoofs.

Wagoning was a full-time occupation engaged in by professional teamsters, the "regulars," and by "sharpshooters," farmers who went into it on a seasonal or casual basis when the work of the farm permitted, or, when the earnings looked good. Many of them were thrifty and industrious Pennsylvania Germans. Much like their modern counterpart, the overland truck driver, the "regulars" were a tough, hard-bitten, resourceful class. They were seasoned by weather and experience, ready to fight for a load, and not hesitant about forcing another team off the road if right of way was disputed. They particularly abhorred those "sharps" who "horned in" when wagons were in strong demand to move goods out of overflowing commission houses, or when a major break in the canal meant full loads at high rates for the wagoners. He might conceal brass knuckles or a blackjack in his rough homespun jacket, and his pockets would bulge with those cheap cigars called "stogies"—presumably a corruption of Conestoga—which he smoked to keep the dust out of his throat. His pants were of homespun and sometimes of leather, and a flat wide-brimmed hat gave some protection from sun and rain. Shaving was haphazard, so it was more convenient and a sign of manhood to wear a beard.

On warm summer nights he would stop where dusk overtook him. The team would be fed, watered and hobbled before he prepared his own meal, and if a number of wagons were in caravan, crude jokes and stories would be swapped across the flames as supper cooked. Winter nights he made for a tavern. Here he drove his wagon on planks to keep the wheels from freezing to the ground, saw that his horses were cared for, and then made for the snug warmth of the barroom where food and drink awaited.

But while the wagoners dozed away on the lazy board, letting the teams find their way on now familiar roads, other men, clever mechanics and ingenious instrument makers, were converting the novelty of steam power into a new practical source of locomotion. The push of progress, the rival before which team and wagon had to yield right of way, was the steam locomotive. Wagoners and canallers joined in petitioning against it, in cajoling customers to stick to the old and tried methods, and in destroying railroad property. The page was slow in its turning, resistance was considerable, but inventiveness and ingenuity were speeding up the movements of men and their material goods. Their livelihoods gone, horses and wagons now doing the humdrum chores of the farm, the glory and romance of the road becoming a fading memory, the inevitability of change is reflected in the wagoners' lament:

Now all ye jolly wagoners who have got good wives
Go home to your farms, and there spend your lives.
When your corn is all cribbed, and your small grain is sowed,
You'll have nothing to do but curse the railroad.

But the wagon was not to be wholly consigned to such a mundane end. Outmoded by the railways in the eastern states, it moved outward with each new line of frontier as the fringes of settlement rippled westward. By those generations of Americans who sought a new life in the new west its uses were multiplied to include domicile, fortress and boat, as well as conveyance. Most fittingly, it stands as the symbol of America pushing its boundaries outward from ocean unto ocean.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1988. Text by Norman B. Wilkinson; edited by Drs. S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent; illustrations by Guy Colt.

THE FIGHT FOR FREE SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA

PENNSYLVANIA'S leadership in education was the consequence of the fight for free elementary schools waged between 1833 and 1836. It is largely due to the groundwork laid by three men, Timothy Pickering, Samuel Breck, and Thaddeus Stevens.

Elementary education in Pennsylvania during the early years of the nineteenth century and before was the concern of private individuals, and not of the State. Much progress was made, however, and there is plenty of evidence to show that schools and teachers were reasonably numerous even in colonial days. Many religious denominations established schools in connection with their places of worship. In other cases, parents would join together to establish schools—the so-called subscription schools. Sometimes, itinerant schoolmasters would themselves establish schools, inviting parents to send their children in return for a moderate tuition fee paid very often mainly by board and lodging. In these types of schools, the teacher would "board around" in the homes of the parents of his flock.

These schools established by private initiative made no provision for children whose parents were too poor to pay tuition. The early Education Acts passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature aimed to provide education for this class, for those too poor to pay. They were usually known as Pauper Education Acts, and it can readily be seen how in-

effective they must have been, because of the social stigma as paupers placed upon the children whom these Acts were intended to help. The first of the Pauper Education Acts was passed in 1802; the second in 1804; and the third in 1809. The Act of 1809 remained in force for the State as a whole until 1834, and for many districts it was in force for a much longer period.

The educational provision of the State Constitution of 1790 was actually the basis of the Free Public School Act of 1834. The provision for education in the earlier Constitution of 1776 was so phrased that it would have been impossible to set up a system of free schools under it. In the State Constitutional Convention of 1789-90, an effort was made to re-adopt this provision, but this move was blocked by the eloquence and zeal of Timothy Pickering, a native of New England who had settled in Luzerne County. As a result of Pickering's efforts, ably supported by McKean of Philadelphia and Findley of Westmoreland, the section on education finally read:

> SECTION 1. The Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State, in such a manner, that the poor may be taught gratis.
>
> SECTION 2. The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more Seminaries of learning.

This was the sole constitutional basis for the free public school system set up in 1834. The Supreme Court of the State decided that it was not unconstitutional for the rich as well as the poor to be taught gratis. It is certain that Pickering and his supporters understood the section in this way. However, the majority did not so understand it, and it was forty-four years before the tree planted by Timothy Pickering finally bore fruit.

In the years from 1790 to 1833, there was a mounting demand for legislation to meet more effectually the implied promise of general education in the Constitution of 1790. Many recognized that the pauper education laws were not satisfactory and agitated for a more generous system in which class discrimination could be eliminated. The rise of Jacksonian democracy in the thirties underlined this defect in the old system. An Act of 1824 provided for three years of free public education, but this was repealed in 1826, the Act of 1809 going back into effect.

The agitation for free public elementary schools continued, and came to a head in 1833 when Samuel Breck of Philadelphia came to the State Senate with a firm resolve to do something to establish a system of general free education applying to the entire State.

Samuel Breck, like Pickering, was a native of New England. A man of wealth, he had been educated in France, had been there during the French Revolution, and knew most of the great men of that day, from Talleyrand to William Pitt the younger. He belonged to a political party that was nearly extinct in 1833, the old Federalist party of Hamilton and Pickering, and we are told that he returned to politics under the Democratic label for the sole purpose of doing something for education. When he succeeded, he dropped out of public life once more, leaving the battle to prevent repeal of his Act to other men.

Breck left an interesting diary from which excerpts tell the story of the passage of the Act of 1834:

> *Monday, December 9, 1833.* Gen. McKean, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, introduced me to the Governor's room. I was received very cordially, for I voted for his friend McKean. My business with the Governor was to learn from him whether he had collected any facts in regard to Education and Proxies, two items in his message which had been referred to two committees of which I was chairman. I was surprised to learn from him that in regard to the first, he had never thought of any system of general education, although so often the theme of his public messages.

Two days later, Breck told his diary:

> The chief occupation that I propose to myself this session is the formation of a system of general education; for which purpose I introduced into the Senate, on the first day of its meeting, a resolution appointing a Joint Committee of the two Houses, to which should be referred all matters that have relation to the subject. That resolution has been adopted, and it now remains for me to call the Joint Committee together for the purpose of organizing and commencing business. As I am Chairman, I may be expected to take the lead; I shall, therefore, address letters to the Governors of the States where universal education is in operation . . . .

Breck fought against ill health while he carried on this extensive correspondence, and worked on the Committee report and on the bill which embodied its findings. His diary continues:

> *Sunday, January 19, 1834.* Here is a gap in my Journal, owing to constant occupation on the report and bill prepared by me on the subject of general education. These with other legislative duties, and sometimes ill health, have caused its neglect.
>
> *Saturday, February 1.* My general education bill, report and appendix, having been printed today, I sat up until midnight sending off about two hundred copies, and then went to bed sick.
>
> *Thursday, February 27.* The general school bill, introduced by me, has passed the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote, save one, and the *nay* man is named *Grim.*
>
> *March 15, 1834.* This morning, the educational bill, which has engaged much of my attention, passed the Senate with three dissenting voices, and these decidedly the most ignorant and least educated of its members . . . These three, with Grim in the House of Representatives, form the minority in the Legislature. It is truly honorable that so good a bill should have passed so nearly by unanimous vote. If the measure shall work well, my public life will have resulted in some good.

The Act was signed by the Governor on April 1, 1834. Judging by the storm of opposition which broke out when the people of Pennsylvania heard of the Act, it was not merely truly honorable that it was passed almost unanimously; it was miraculous. The storm surpassed in violence what followed the ill-fated Act of 1824, and it seemed very probable that the new Act would be erased from the statute books by the next Legislature. It was not enough merely to pass a free public school act; it was necessary to fight to prevent its repeal.

The Act provided that each county should be a school division, and every ward, township, or borough a school district. Sections 2 and 3 provided for the election of school directors very much as at the present time. The permissive features of the bill were in Sections 4, 5, 6 and 7, which provided for annual meetings in each county of the county commissioners—and a representative of each school board in the county. These joint meetings would decide whether a county school tax should be levied for the support of common schools, and if in favor, would arrange for a tax levy which should be sufficient to yield at least twice the amount given by the State. If the vote was against levying a tax, the districts would receive no money from the State, and would continue to operate under the Act of 1809.

The vote on acceptance or rejection was to be held on the third Friday in September, 1834. Of the 987 districts in the State, 502 accepted the Free Public School Act, while only 264 actually rejected it.

In general, the western counties favored free public education, because they were newer and

their customs or ways of taking care of their educational problems had not become deeply rooted. In the northern tier of counties the strong New England element favored this new plan which resembled what they had been used to in their native states. The Act was generally supported by the better educated and more progressive individuals and communities. The organizations of workingmen in the cities favored it, as did some of the churches, the Methodists and Presbyterians, in particular.

Who were the opponents of free public education? The aristocrats felt that education should be only for the "better" people, the "well-born" or the wealthy. The conservatives or "standpatters" opposed it just because it was new. Some taxpayers, rich and poor, thought it meant too great an increase in taxation. Non-English-speaking groups feared that the free schools would cause the loss of their languages and distinctive cultures. There was also an element who had no use for "book-learning," and had great contempt for teachers and schools.

The election of members of the new Legislature was held in November, 1834. Many friends of the Act were defeated, and others were re-elected only after a promise to reverse their former stand. The Assembly met on December 2, and at once many bills were presented either to amend the Act or to repeal it altogether. Governor George Wolf, in his message of December 3, took a bold, firm stand in favor of the Act. This encouragement to the friends of the Act was timely, for a flood of petitions poured in upon the legislators, praying for the immediate repeal of the Act. The petitions came from 38 counties, and had more than 32,000 signers.

The State Senate had a clear majority against the Act, and passed a bill which virtually repealed it by a vote of 19 to 11. Thirteen Senators who had voted for the Act, now voted against it. Oddly enough, the House of Representatives, which is supposed to be more responsive to popular sentiment, was more favorable to free schools. The Speaker, Thompson of Erie, had been a member of the old Joint Committee, and the House Committee on Education with but one exception favored the Act, suggesting only some minor changes. The Committee reported a bill simplifying the Act, but retaining its essential features. There was a fierce struggle in the House Committee of the Whole between the supporters of the Senate Bill and the defenders of the Committee's Bill. A man stepped forward who had not hitherto taken an important part in the struggle, and by his powerful oratory strengthened the wavering and turned the tide in favor of free schools. Thaddeus Stevens, caustic critic of the administration, turned the fire of his eloquence upon the opponents of free schools in one of the greatest speeches in Pennsylvania history. This speech is credited with winning the day for free schools. The Committee's version making only some minor changes in the Act of 1834, finally passed the House on April 11, 1835. The Senate concurred, believing that the minor changes were better than no change at all, and the cause of free schools was triumphant.

Our public schools of today are the result of the successful outcome of that great struggle. True, some minor changes were again made in 1836, permitting school districts to withdraw from the free school system three years after voting into it, but this had the effect of inducing even more districts to join, as they could withdraw again if they did not like it. The struggle waged in 1834 and 1835 laid the legislative foundation for all the tremendous development of the public school system in Pennsylvania. After elementary schools came other equally significant institutions, the high school, the normal school. Teacher certification, progress in educational methods, a broadening of the curriculum, all these and many other valuable steps forward in preparing the children of Pennsylvania to be good citizens, were the ultimate results of the establishment of free elementary schools.

Of Timothy Pickering who laid the constitutional foundation for the Act; of Samuel Breck who drafted the Act and secured its adoption; and of Thaddeus Stevens whose eloquence saved it from repeal, it may be said, paraphrasing the words applied to a great architect and his building, "If you seek their monuments, look about you." In every town and township of our Commonwealth the public schools are training children to be useful citizens, loyal to the principles upon which our Republic is founded, and aware of their duties as citizens to maintain those ideals.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1976. Third printing. Text by Donald H. Kent; edited by S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent; sketches by Guy Colt.

Thaddeus Stevens: Champion of Freedom

THADDEUS STEVENS, son of a poor Vermont shoemaker, was one of Pennsylvania's strangest and most baffling personalities. He was a man strongly liked or disliked. To some he was the "Old Commoner" or "Great Leveler," who fought for the poor, the oppressed, and the underprivileged; by others he was held in great contempt as a clubfooted, evil, vengeful politician who climbed to power by shrewdly supporting the issues that were popular with the lowest class of voters of his day. Even today with new information at hand there remain sharp differences of opinion about him. Thus he still stands, a controversial figure, inspiring either admiration or hatred.

Thaddeus Stevens was a Pennsylvanian by choice. Born at Danville, Vermont, April 4, 1792, the sacrifices of his widowed mother enabled him to get a good education based on the classics and mathematics at Peacham Academy, Dartmouth College, and the University of Vermont. Headstrong, diligent, and independent, at some point in his youth Stevens became ambitious to gain great wealth. At the same time he developed a strong dislike for aristocracy and anything suggesting class distinction and special privilege. This latter attitude may have been provoked because he was once rejected for membership in the scholarship fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa. This created a deep dislike toward all secret organizations, markedly displayed in his later denunciations of Freemasonry as a secret, fraternal order with special membership qualifications.

Thaddeus Stevens as a young man.

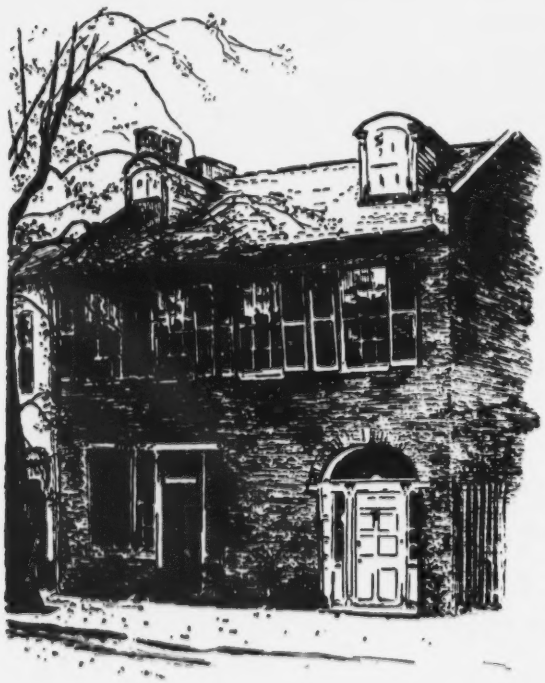
After graduating from Dartmouth he taught for a short time at Peacham Academy and began the reading of law in the office of "Judge" John Mattocks. But a larger world than a small Vermont village beckoned, and in 1815 Stevens moved to southern Pennsylvania where he became an instructor in the York County Academy, employing his leisure time in studying law under the tutelage of David Casset, York's leading lawyer. Prevented from taking his examination in less than a year by local bar rules, he skirted this obstacle by crossing the Mason-Dixon Line into Bel Air, Maryland, where, after listing the legal works he had read and going through other formalities, he was admitted to practice.

Stevens hung out his shingle in Gettysburg, then a town of about a thousand people and the seat of Adams County, and waited for business. As a young lawyer he got along on a meager income for several years. After his skilful defense of a murderer for whom he pleaded insanity, a most unusual plea at that time, he quickly acquired a lucrative practice and earned recognition as the leading figure of the Adams County bar. By shrewd purchase and by taking full advantage of sheriff's sales, Stevens became the owner of so much property that by 1830 he was the largest taxpayer in the borough of Gettysburg. With James D. Paxton as partner he went into the iron business at Maria Furnace at the western end of the county, and at Caledonia Forge near Chambersburg. These ventures absorbed much of his fortune during the depressed years of

the 1830's, a situation that made him an advocate of the protective tariff. In his pursuit of fortune, he made some enemies who claimed he used sharp methods in buying up properties. On the other hand, he was commended for keeping his ironworks in operation despite losses in order to furnish a livelihood for his employees. In these years he became an avowed enemy of slavery, and without fee defended many runaway slaves fleeing north. A Negro woman, Lydia Smith, was a faithful housekeeper for the bachelor Stevens for many years.

The beginning of his long and stormy career in public life dates from 1829. His bitter attacks on Freemasonry as a secret conspiracy monopolizing all positions of high profit and honor in the State and nation marked him as "the great luminary of anti-masonry in Adams County."

Politically, Stevens developed from Federalist to Anti-Mason, to Whig, to Republican, political groups that emerged in opposition to the dominating power of the Democratic party. In 1833 he was elected on the Anti-Masonic ticket to the lower house of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, where he served intermittently until 1842. Fiercely partisan and aggressive, Stevens rose to leadership by introducing legislation designed to curb secret societies, particularly Freemasonry, seeking larger appropriations for Pennsylvania's colleges, advocating a constitutional limit to the State debt, offering a resolution favoring the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and defending the protective tariff and the United States Bank. He refused to sign the new State constitution of 1838 because it allowed only white citizens to vote. The State works program of canal and railroad construction was extended during these years, and for a time Stevens was chairman of the canal commissioners, a position that allowed for the wielding of patronage which he skilfully used to strengthen and keep in power the Anti-Masons. He sponsored the building of the Gettysburg or "Tapeworm" Railroad, a deliberately circuitous and useless line planned to enrich contractors, make jobs, and produce votes. In a struggle between the Anti-Masons and Whigs on one side and the Democrats on the other for control of the lower house, the "Buckshot War" of 1838, he escaped a mob by jumping from a window of the Capitol.



Law office and residence of Thaddeus Stevens in Gettysburg.

On occasion, Stevens was charged with acting the buffoon in the legislature. His antics as head of the committee investigating Freemasonry and other secret societies were regarded as farcical and grotesque. However, these shortcomings must be balanced against his achievements. Stevens was an enemy of ignorance, and his lasting service to all Pennsylvanians was his masterly defense of Pennsylvania's new law providing for free public schools, which had been adopted on April 1, 1834. (See *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 6*, "The Fight for Free Schools.") Although Thaddeus Stevens had played no active part in the passage of this educational legislation, he sprang to its defense when a powerful opposition arose against it in the following session, making its death seem certain. Most of the members of the new Assembly were pledged to weaken the Free School Act with amendments or repeal it outright. The struggle was climaxed when the legislators had to choose between a Senate bill repealing the act, and a House bill preserving the system with

but a few changes. It seemed certain that the Senate bill would triumph.

At this point Thaddeus Stevens, re-elected to the House with instructions from his constituents to favor repeal, marshalled his great powers of intense persuasiveness and trenchant oratory in a speech that routed the opposition and earned for him the title of "savior" of Pennsylvania's public school system. His conviction that education produced and preserved a happier and democratic society is evident in his earlier criticism of his colleagues for favoring without question measures that would improve the breed of *hogs*, but economizing on measures to improve the breed of *men!* In this caustic mood he now chided them for wanting to kill the school law before it had actually gone into effect:

> It would seem to be humiliating to be under the necessity, in the nineteenth century, of entering into a formal argument to prove the utility, and to free governments, the absolute necessity of education. . . . Such necessity would be degrading to a Christian age and a free republic.
>
> • • • • •
>
> If an elective republic is to endure for any great length of time, every elector must have sufficient information, not only to accumulate wealth and take care of his pecuniary concerns, but to direct wisely the Legislatures, the Ambassadors, and the Executive of the nation; for some part of all these things, some agency in approving or disapproving of them, falls to every freeman. If, then, the permanency of our government depends upon such knowledge, it is the duty of government to see that the means of information be diffused to every citizen. This is a sufficient answer to those who deem education a private and not a public duty—who argue that they are willing to educate their own children, but not their neighbor's children.
>
> • • • • •
>
> I trust that when we come to act on this question, we shall take lofty ground—look beyond the narrow space which now circumscribes our vision—beyond the passing, fleeting point of time on which we stand—and so cast our votes that the blessing of education shall be conferred on every son of Pennsylvania—shall be carried home to the poorest child of the poorest inhabitant of the meanest hut of your mountains, so that even he may be prepared to act well his part in this land of freedom, and lay on earth a broad and solid foundation for that enduring knowledge which goes on increasing through increasing eternity.

Stevens in his seventies when a leader in Congress.

This great speech won the day for free schools. The House version of the education bill was adopted and Pennsylvania's public school system went into operation. For his masterly action in turning opposition into support, Stevens' talents were acclaimed even by a hostile political press as "never exerted in a nobler cause or with greater effect than on this occasion, and we feel assured that a more powerful effort of oratory was never listened to within the walls of this or any other legislative hall." More enduring is his assured position in the annals of Pennsylvania education, and the many schools that bear his name are monuments in his honor.

Stevens withdrew from public life in 1842. He was disappointed and embittered at not receiving an appointment to the cabinet of the new Whig president, William Henry Harrison, for whose election he had strenuously labored. But his failing iron business and his law prac-

tice now required his personal attention, and in 1842 he removed to Lancaster where he quickly attained eminence as a lawyer with considerable income. To pay off the heavy debts of his Caledonia Iron Works he found it necessary to sell much of his property in the Gettysburg area, including the site of the buildings and campus of Gettysburg College, which he deeded to the College trustees.

Sitting on the sidelines of a political arena in turbulence, however necessary, was galling to a man of Stevens' ambition and temperament. His positive convictions on the matters of the tariff, the treasury system, and the extension of slavery into the new territories had to find outlet. By shrewd maneuverings he won election to Congress in 1848 as a Whig from the Lancaster district. Predicting his role as no frail politician content to drawl out a sleepy "Aye" or "No," the local Democrats bade him farewell with these prophetic words: "He goes into Congress the predetermined agitator of sectional jealousies and divisions. . . . His mission is to be one of Strife, of Division, and of Hatred, and surely there is no one so well qualified to fulfill it."

With the coming of secession and civil war, and with Congress controlled by the Republicans, Stevens was made chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee that handled all financial measures concerned with the war. Legislation to float loans, raise revenue, impose new taxes, and issue paper money was steered through the House under his leadership. Toward the South there was possibly no one more severe. He demanded the confiscation of property, arming the slaves, emancipating slaves in conquered areas by military fiat, and enforcing submission by "desolating" the South, exterminating the "rebels," abolishing state lines, and recolonizing the region. This extreme position may have stemmed from his own ardent spirit of democracy and equalitarianism, and was probably intensified by the wanton burning and confiscation of all movable items of his own Caledonia Iron Works by Confederate General Early's raiding forces that pushed into Pennsylvania late in June, 1863, preceding the Battle of Gettysburg. Informed of the destruction, which amounted to about $90,000, his angry feelings were followed with the comment, "I know not what the poor families will do. I must provide for their present relief." This he did, caring for some families for the next three years.

Stevens' concern for the victims of war did not extend to the southerners who were being relentlessly hammered, starved, and blockaded into defeat after the Battle of Gettysburg. Stubborn radicalism of this sort, a policy of revenge, and assurance of Republican supremacy contrasted darkly with President Lincoln's and President Johnson's policies of moderation and conciliation designed to reunite and reconstruct the South as speedily and easily as possible. As the leading figure of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction set up by Congress in 1865, Stevens was the most radical of the "Radical Republicans" responsible for the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, the Civil Rights Bill, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, all measures designed to aid the Negro. They were climaxed by the imposition of military rule and Negro-carpetbagger government over the South for the next ten years. The legacy was an "age of hate" that sharpened racial antagonism, unified the southern whites into the Democratic party, embittered political life, and delayed the social and economic revival of the southern states.

In failing health, just a month before his death at the age of seventy-six, Stevens' final act was to introduce a bill in Congress asking that free schools be established in the District of Columbia, a fitting return to the cause that had first won him fame as a fighter for freedom of the mind and a champion of equal rights. The epitaph of his own composition inscribed on his tombstone in Shreiner's cemetery in Lancaster epitomizes his belief in equality: "I repose in this quiet and secluded spot, not from any natural preference for solitude, but finding other cemeteries limited by charter rules as to race, I have chosen this that I might illustrate in my death the principles which I advocated through a long life, equality of man before his Creator."

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1977. Fourth printing. Text by Norman B. Wilkinson; illustrations by Guy Colt; edited by S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent.

Pennsylvania's State Houses and Capitols

LONG AFTER THE founding of Pennsylvania in 1681 and the Charter of Privileges granted by William Penn to the Province in 1701, colonists took little active thought of where their Assembly should have a fixed place of meeting. Year after year members of that legislative body gathered officially in an inn, a meetinghouse, a coffeehouse, a markethouse, or the commodious residence of some more well-to-do legislator, and generally in the city of Philadelphia; and Philadelphians grew used to having it there.

It is not surprising, then, that the Assembly received on February 20, 1729, a petition praying that that "House would by a law impower" the city and county of Philadelphia to "build a Market and State House in High Street, near the Prison." The petition was laid on the table that day, but nine weeks later, on May 1, it emerged in a motion calling for an appropriation of £2,000, which carried unanimously and paved the way for further debate and procedure.

The State House, or "House for the Assembly of this Province to meet in," came slowly. Andrew Hamilton, eminent lawyer and for many years clerk of assembly, became chief proponent of a site and of a plan for the structure. Chestnut Street below Sixth replaced High Street as the location. Hamilton had building materials gathered together for it, executed a rough drawing of his concept of how it should be constructed, and spurred preparations. In the summer of 1736 John Penn, "the American," only son of the Founder born in Pennsylvania, made a payment of five pounds to Edmund Woolley for his more expert designs for the new Provincial State House, then completed in its broader proportions. In late September of that same year Mayor William Allen of Philadelphia entertained there at a great banquet of citizens.

An architect's vision of the Pennsylvania State Capitol, 1904, prepared for Joseph M. Huston, the architect of the building.

Courtesy American Philosophical Society

The State House, Philadelphia, by Fumagalli. It became known later as Independence Hall.

In October, a few weeks later, the Assembly of Pennsylvania had its first meetings there. Yet the building's interior would not be fully paneled and wainscoted for five years more—until 1751—its great bell would not be installed until 1753, nor would it be pronounced complete with a tower before 1758.

All that was a commonplace and modest evolution for an edifice which in the course of time would become the most famous State House on the American continent. The Minutes of Assembly of 1736, in fact, make no mention whatever of the Assembly's gathering there. Government, not place of it, it seems, was the only important point.

Not until 1775, when the second meeting of the Continental Congress occurred in it, or until July 4, 1776, when the Declaration of American Independence was adopted in it, was the Pennsylvania State House to mount into lasting fame. And not until fifty years after that was it to be popularly known as "Independence Hall." Here, however, met the convention which shaped Pennsylvania's Constitution of 1776; and here in September, 1777, the Assembly of the new State was meeting when Washington's loss of the Battle of the Brandywine opened Philadelphia to the threat of General Howe's advancing army. Then on the 14th of that month the House ordered its papers and records, under the direction of its clerk, John Morris, Jr., to be carried up the Delaware River "on board the brig *Sturdy Beggar* to Col. Kirkbride's, and there kept, or carried further." Two days later the House realized that "all active friends of American liberty were obliged to leave" Philadelphia, news having come that "the enemy's army was in full march for this city"; and on the 18th of September it adjourned as a body, resolving to meet in the borough of Lancaster on Thursday, the 25th.

Their records saved by prompt action, assemblymen got to the inland city as soon as they could; but it was not until the morning of October 6, two days after Washington had retired from the Battle of Germantown, that a quorum of members could be assembled. During the fateful winter when Washington's soldiers suffered with him at Valley Forge, the government of Pennsylvania functioned—somewhat precariously to be sure—at Lancaster, with the Assembly meeting in the uncomfortable early brick courthouse. On May 25, 1778, the body adjourned to gather again, place unnamed, on September 9. Happily a summons came from the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth to return to Philadelphia, a month earlier, in August. When on the 7th of that month

Lancaster County courthouse, 1787-1853, was the State House of Pennsylvania from 1799 to 1812. It was located in the center of Penn Square, Lancaster, and was razed in 1853.

they met again with proper quorum, it was in a State House considerably marred internally by the British occupation but capable of restoration for their use for another twenty-two years.

Indeed, that structure of Andrew Hamilton's and Edmund Woolley's designing, known everywhere as the State House of Pennsylvania, was to remain the physical seat of government for the Commonwealth until 1799. To its early eminence as the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence it was to add in 1789-1790 the honor of being the place where the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 was shaped.

A temporary eclipse was to come upon it, however. Back county legislators argued that Philadelphia was too far from the center of the State and decried the presence of epidemics in the city on the Delaware. They proposed moving the seat of government to Carlisle, Reading, Wright's Ferry, or Harrisburg. Debate in the Assembly continued until April, 1799, when Governor Thomas Mifflin approved an Act of the House of Representatives and the Senate (the Assembly now had two houses), and by force of it directed the seat of government to be removed to Lancaster in the next November.

Preparations were made more leisurely now than in 1777. The summer beheld frequent spectacles of wagons moving forwards from the city on the Delaware to Lancaster. Accounts for the hauling of desks, books, papers, and records came in great numbers to Commissioners Jacob Strickler, Matthias Barton, and Thomas Boude. On the appointed date, November 1, 1799, Lancaster became the capital of Pennsylvania for a second time; and its new second brick courthouse, a replica of the earlier one in which the Assembly had sat in 1777-1778, became the State House of the Commonwealth, to remain such for thirteen years.

But legislators were not yet satisfied that the seat of Pennsylvania's law making bodies had been made satisfactorily central. In February, 1810, in the term of Governor Simon Snyder, an act, approved despite the objections of Northumberland County and Philadelphia City and County assemblymen, established the capital at Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna. For a third time, in October, 1812, the scene of removal of government was reenacted.

This time, however, conditions were different. Two "Fire-Proof Buildings," with great stone

The old Capitol at Harrisburg, designed by Stephen Hills, after the fire, 1897.

porticos on their front elevations, had been built to receive the books and records of officers of state like the surveyor general, the auditor, and the treasurer. The fifteen-year-old Dauphin County courthouse on Market Street had been renovated by master carpenter Stephen Hills to accommodate the two houses of the legislature. The clerk of the House of Representatives, George Heckert, conducted sale of the furniture which that body had used in its chamber in Lancaster, and helped increase funds for new desks, tables, and record shelves in Harrisburg. Young men of that borough and the neighboring countryside drove covered wagons to Lancaster to load up with libraries, records, legislative records, and executive documents.

For nine years thereafter the second courthouse of Dauphin County was known as the State House of Pennsylvania. Newspapers were printed "opposite the State House on Market Street"; boarding house mistresses advertised their locations as "a few doors" from it. But while it served in its proud capacity, the minds of Pennsylvanians and particularly of Harrisburgers were much on another subject. So much, indeed, were they upon it that in March, 1816, the Legislature worked out a scheme for selling the abandoned State House in Philadelphia to the city in which it stood. The State needed funds for the erection of a new capitol; to pro-

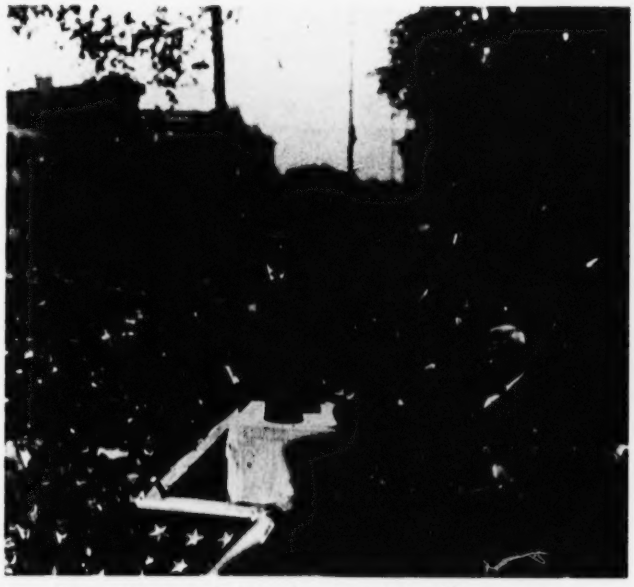
cure a substantial amount, "Independence Hall" was offered to the city for $70,000.

Two months later, in May, Stephen Hills was put to work gathering building materials for a great new edifice to be set up on the public ground between the two "Fire-Proof" office buildings, of which Commissioners Jacob Bucher and Edward Crouch had superintended the construction in 1810-1812.

For a year Mr. Hills gathered, in a manner not greatly different from Andrew Hamilton's a century earlier, his vast store of supplies in stone, brick, lumber, and slate; and men eagerly watched it grow. But once more there were delays. The treasury was not replete in funds. Citizens had to wait until 1819 and Governor William Findlay's term of office for construction to begin on the building, for which Hills had submitted the winning design. On January 2, 1822, from the "State House" on Market Street, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, glaziers, laborers, clergymen, Governor Joseph Hiester, the executive officers, the House and the Senate, and Mr. Stephen Hills himself marched to the dedication of the now completed first Capitol—not an old-fashioned "State House"—which Pennsylvania owned.

It was a sturdy, nobly proportioned building, admirably suited to the purposes which it was to serve. Its lofty portico and high dome exhibited graces of architecture exceeded for beauty nowhere else in the Commonwealth, unless by the beautiful tower and cupola which crowned "Independence Hall" after it had become the property of the city of Philadelphia and been restored in 1828 by the famous architect William Strickland. It was destined to be the physical seat of government for Pennsylvania for three-quarters of a century. In it were studied and passed by legislators those laws which created the Pennsylvania Canal, many of the great corporately owned navigation companies and all the great railroads in the State, and the Commonwealth's system of public schools.

When fire destroyed it on February 2, 1897, it was as though an era of grandeur had come to an end. Today all of us would rather have lost the old Capitol than "Independence Hall."



President Theodore Roosevelt opens his address at the dedication of the new Capitol, October 4, 1906. Seated to the right, on the platform at the foot of the Capitol steps, hatless, is Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker.

But old-time Pennsylvanians really needed something like the Commonwealth's magnificent second Capitol, built in 1902-1906, to console them for a loss so incalculable. Italian Renaissance in architectural type, designed by Joseph M. Houston, of Indiana limestone rather than of brick and local sandstone, the present building is incomparably handsome in exterior and interior, exquisite in a thousand details. Memories of much wise legislation and of Pennsylvania's participation in two great world wars for human liberty cluster about it. It, too, will grow mellow with time. But today it is best for us—as Pennsylvania's four "State Houses" and its other first Capitol have been best for us—as a visible symbol of the greatness of law, justice, and wisdom in a republican form of government, in which men take counsel together for the good of society and a people.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1969. Revised edition. Text by Hubertis Cummings; edited by Dr. S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

Harrisburg: Pennsylvania's Capital City

As American communities go, Harrisburg, the capital of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, is an old community.

The Indians, using the Susquehanna River and the natural trails along it, settled the area long before the white man came. As early as 1690 William Penn, to advertise his Province, offered a settlement "upon the river of Susquehannagh." White traders came soon afterwards.

Just before 1700 John Harris, born in Yorkshire, England, probably about 1673, and a brewer by occupation, landed in Philadelphia. In 1705 he secured a license to obtain land, and sometime between then and 1718 he arrived in the wilderness of what was to become Harrisburg. He prospered as a trader, farmer, and ferryboat operator, and he was highly respected by both white settlers and Indians. In 1720 he married Esther Say, a native of Yorkshire, in Philadelphia.

Harris died in December of 1748, and together with his Negro slave Hercules and a Harris daughter is buried in River Park in front of the John Harris Mansion, Front and Washington streets, built by his son in 1766.

The second John Harris, one of four Harris children, was born in October, 1726, and is known as the founder of Harrisburg. He planned the city with his son-in-law, William Maclay, member from Pennsylvania of the first United States Senate, and laid out the lots on April 14, 1785. Harris married twice and had at least five children. He died July 29, 1791, and is buried in Paxton Church Cemetery in suburban Paxtang.

For a short time Harrisburg was known as "Louisburg," after King Louis XVI of France, but the second John Harris insisted it be named in memory of his father. The second Harris helped to organize Dauphin County, which was created from part of Lancaster County on March 4, 1785, and named for the French dauphin, the king's eldest son, who died in 1789. Harrisburg from the beginning was the county seat and was incorporated as a borough, with fewer than 500 people, on April 13, 1791. It received its charter as a city on March 19, 1860, when it had a population of about 13,000.

The second Harris by deed conveyed "4 acres and 13 perches to be held in trust until the Legislature see fit to use it" as the site for the capitol. The legislature moved from Philadelphia to Lancaster in 1799, and then in February of 1810 selected Harrisburg to be the capital.

The General Assembly moved to Harrisburg in October, 1812, four months after America declared war against Great Britain. Simon Snyder, of Selinsgrove, was governor and the State had a budget of $336,189.15. Temporary quarters were used, and in 1819 Governor William Findlay, of Cumberland County, laid the cornerstone of the first Capitol. This two-story brick building lasted until February 2, 1897, when it was gutted by a noontime blaze.

The new Capitol was expected to cost between $5 and $10 million, but by the time it opened in 1906 it had cost $12.5 million, about a third of which went for graft. Five persons, including the architect and the chief contractor, received prison sentences in the famous 1908 Capitol graft trial held in the Commonwealth Court in Harrisburg; however $4 million of graft, including the $850 spent for a $150 flagpole atop the building, was never recovered.

The present Capitol was dedicated October 4, 1906, by President Theodore Roosevelt, who said it was a handsome structure. Governor Samuel W.

Harrisburgers gather in a snowstorm on the afternoon of February 2, 1897, to watch the State Capitol burn. The present Capitol stands where the old one stood.

Pennypacker, under whose administration it was built, contended it was a masterpiece, but Owen Wister, the novelist from Philadelphia, at the time wrote: "The Capitol is not a good work. Outside it looks as much like all other capitols as any banana looks like the rest of the bunch. Inside it is a monstrous botch of bad arrangement, bad lighting, bad ventilation, and the most bloated bad tastes."

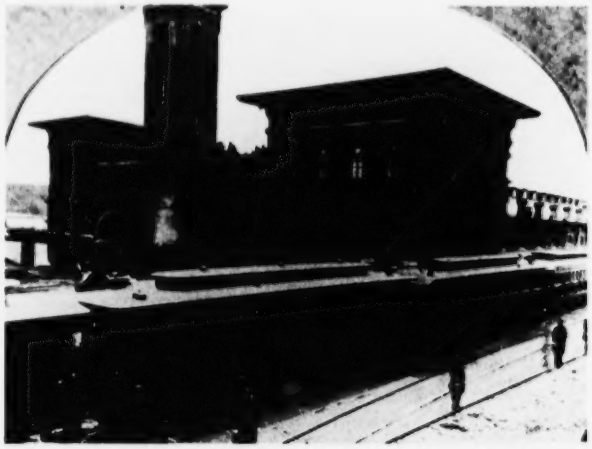
The most impressive features of the Capitol today are the twenty-seven Barnard figures in two groups at each side of its entrance. These were done by George Grey Barnard in Paris, brought to Harrisburg in eighteen railroad cars and unveiled October 4, 1911. Barnard, a native of Bellefonte, Centre County, and the originator of New York's Cloisters, a museum of medieval art and architecture, died in 1938 and requested he be buried in Harrisburg, near his most famous work; indeed, he was.

The two most distinguished buildings of the Capitol complex are the State Education Building and Forum and the William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building.

The Education Building and Forum, costing $5.5 million, was dedicated by Governor Gifford Pinchot on November 4, 1931. On October 2, 1930, just before construction was completed, it suffered a $1 million fire, one of the most serious in Harrisburg history. Chinese wood oil on the ceiling canvas, which depicts the constellations of the northern sky, caught fire and almost destroyed the building. When it was eventually completed, the Forum, seating 1,833, was praised by critics. Its seven great historical maps, each thirty-five by twenty-one feet, tell world history to World War I.

The $10 million State museum was built in the administration of Governor David L. Lawrence and was dedicated by Governor William W. Scranton. One of its principal features is an eighteen-foot-high, 3,800-pound modern statue of William Penn, by Janet deCoux, of Pittsburgh. Another showplace, decorated with period furnishings, is the Governor's Residence, of Georgian design, occupied first by Governor Raymond P. Shafer and his family in 1968. It is located at Maclay and Front streets.

Each January hundreds of thousands visit the Pennsylvania Farm Show, a major agricultural exhibition in Harrisburg. The Farm Show buildings, the first of which was dedicated by the Commonwealth in 1931, are located at Maclay and Cameron streets.



President Lincoln's funeral train in the Pennsylvania Railroad station, Harrisburg, on the morning of April 22, 1865, as seen from Market Street. In the foreground is the presidential car, which carried Lincoln's remains to Illinois for burial. While the President's body was taken in procession to the Capitol to be viewed, that of his son Willie, who died in 1862, remained in this car. The present passenger station was opened on the site of this one in 1887.

Historically, Harrisburg has been important not only because of its Capitol, but also because it has long been a transportation center.

On March 27, 1824, during the first term of Governor John Andrew Shulze, the Pennsylvania Canal system was authorized. Ground was broken for the canal July 4, 1826, just to the east of the Capitol. The canal system was exciting, but because of the railroad it was short-lived. Between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh it was in use in its entirety only between 1834 and 1857, the Pennsylvania Railroad having extended its service between the cities in 1852.

What was to become a part of the Pennsylvania Railroad, a rail line from Lancaster, was extended to Harrisburg in 1837. The third and present railroad station, now of the Penn Central, was opened downtown in 1887. Through the city passed the funeral trains of Presidents Lincoln and McKinley. The most important railroad event in Harrisburg occurred January 15, 1938, with the arrival of the first electric train. Prior to then, coal-burners chugged the length of Harrisburg, enveloping the city in soot and smoke.

Because of its proximity to Washington, Harrisburg in December of 1839 was the convention city of the Whig Party. Harrisburg is the smallest city to have been the site of a national political convention. The Whigs met at the newly built Zion Lutheran Church, on Fourth Street south of Market, and nominated William Henry Harrison, who was elected president.

Harrisburg was a target of General Robert E. Lee's 1863 Confederate invasion, not because it was the State capital but because it was a transportation hub. The city also had Camp Curtin, a recruiting and hospitalization area for Union troops. During the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, and succeeding conflicts, the Harrisburg area served as a recruiting and debarking center for the military.

The Pennsylvania Turnpike, the nation's first long-distance toll road, was authorized during the administration of Governor George H. Earle. The roadway, complete from Middlesex in Cumberland County west to Irwin, was opened October 1, 1940. In the late 1940's and early 1950's, before the national Interstate highway program, Harrisburg was one of the three cities in the nation to have access to as many as five major highways. The Appalachian Trail, a 2,000-mile hikers' path from Maine to Georgia, crosses the Susquehanna River just north of Harrisburg.

Market Square, Harrisburg, 1880, looking north, showing the market houses, which were razed in 1889 to relieve congestion; the hotel building to the right, which still stands; and the horse car tracks.

Bridges have been important to Harrisburg. Old Camelback, an undulating covered bridge, was built by Theodore Burr in 1816. Charles Dickens crossed it in 1842 and described it in his *American Notes*. Two columns of the old Capitol stand at the Harrisburg entrance of the covered bridge's present successor, the Market Street Bridge.

President George Washington passed through Harrisburg in 1794 on his way west to quell the Whiskey Rebellion. He spent the night at the Harris Mansion or at a hotel on the southeast corner of Market Square. Abraham Lincoln, as president-elect, went to the same site but never got a chance to sleep. With rumors that he faced assassination, he was hustled out of Market Square and taken to a darkened train headed for Washington. That afternoon of February 22, 1861, Lincoln had addressed the legislature. He returned to Harrisburg for a last time on April 21, 1865, then to lie in state in the House of Representatives as the martyr of the Civil War.

With 1,100 acres of park, Harrisburg once had more parks per square mile than any other city in the nation, the most notable now being River Park, which extends several miles along the Susquehanna. The Harris and Cameron families, among others, contributed to the park system. Under the administration of Vance McCormick, who became mayor in 1902 at age 29, the park system, as well as an outstanding water system supplied by reservoirs, was established. McCormick, who died in 1946, was the publisher of the Harrisburg *Patriot* for 42 years, and founded the *Evening News* in 1917.

Many of the pioneers of the Harrisburg area were Scotch-Irish and English, one reason why Presbyterianism is still deeply rooted in the community. Pennsylvania Germans also moved into the area. Seventeen of Harrisburg's twenty-nine mayors since it became a city in 1860 have been of German ancestry. Chicken corn soup remains a popular dish. The Irish came to Harrisburg to build the canal and the railroad, and they were joined by many Central Europeans, a large number of whom settled in nearby Steelton. Although Negroes have lived in Harrisburg since its earliest days, many of them came the first thirty years of the twentieth century to work in steel mills. With fair-employment practices in State government, Negro employment has increased greatly since the mid-1950's. The growth of State government, the city's largest industry, has attracted thousands of people from all parts of the State, and from other parts of the country.

The city has had numerous famous personages. The family of Simon Cameron made Harrisburg its home. For 127 years until 1968, the Cameron Estates had property within the city. Some of its land is now used by the Harrisburg Area Community College, founded in 1964 and established in Wildwood Park in 1967. General Simon Cameron (he was State adjutant general at one time) served ten months as secretary of war under President Lincoln. This long-time boss of the Pennsylvania Republican party lived in the Harris Mansion from 1863 until his death, at age 90, in June, 1889. Grandchildren of Cameron gave the home to the Historical Society of Dauphin County in 1941. The mansion is now an excellent museum, having letters of Lincoln, the Camerons, the Marquis de Lafayette, and others.

James Buchanan and Thaddeus Stevens, as well as later figures like Senators Matthew S. Quay and Boies Penrose, came to Harrisburg as State legislators.

John O'Hara, a native of Pottsville, lived in Harrisburg briefly to write his novel about the city,

Members of the Harrisburg Wheel Club pose in Market Square in 1888. The camera faces west down Market Street to the Market Street covered bridge. Long bicycle excursions were popular with Harrisburgers in the years before and after the turn of the century.

A Rage to Live, published in 1949. Harrisburg, disguised as Fort Penn, appears also in other O'Hara novels. Conrad Richter, a native of Pine Grove, lived for a time in Clarks Valley and used the Harrisburg region as a setting for part of his *The Light in the Forest* in 1953. James Boyd, a resident of Front Street, wrote a novel about the city in 1935, *Roll River*.

As the capital of the Commonwealth, Harrisburg has a history and a character that reflects more than just the lives and achievements of its own citizens. It has had a larger role as the focal point for much of the history of the whole State.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1969. Text by Paul B. Beers; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

Columbian Magazine (1791). Courtesy American Philosophical Society

Public buildings, Philadelphia. From left: Episcopal Academy, Congress Hall, State House (steeple removed 1781), American Philosophical Society, Library Company, Carpenters Hall.

Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution

ON DECEMBER 12, 1787, Pennsylvania became the second state to ratify the Constitution of the United States, her neighbor, Delaware, being first by only five days. Pennsylvanians took a leading part in the evolution of the idea of an American union and in the framing, adoption, and ratification of the Constitution which made this union permanent.

The idea of such a union may be traced far back in the annals of Pennsylvania, even to her founder William Penn, who published a "Plan for a Union of the Colonies in America." He proposed that two deputies from each colony meet annually at some central location "to hear and adjust all matters of complaint or difference between Province and Province" and to provide for defense.

Penn's forward-looking proposal was ignored, but in 1754 a similar suggestion was made by another noted Pennsylvanian, Benjamin Franklin. He presented his "Plan of Union" at the Albany Congress, a meeting of delegates from various colonies to make plans for defense on the eve of the French and Indian War. His scheme would have united the colonies under a grand council appointed by the colonial assemblies and a president-general appointed by the King. Such proposals were doomed to failure until events had shown the necessity of union.

The quarrel with the mother country over American rights gave rise to definite steps in the direction of union, which were all supported by Pennsylvania. As the colonies needed to take common action against a common danger, they sent delegates to conferences or congresses which would decide on the proper measures. The Stamp Act Congress of 1765 and the Continental Congress had no constitutional basis, but they were nevertheless manifestations of a movement toward union which became more and more evident when war began and the idea of independence gained support. By

1775, the Congress was using the term *United Colonies of North America*, and the great Declaration of the following year proclaimed the independence of the *United States of America*.

The next step on the road to union was the Articles of Confederation. Already, in July, 1775, Benjamin Franklin had drawn up a plan for these Articles and presented it to the Congress, but not until June 7, 1776, did Congress appoint a committee to prepare this first constitution of the United States. It was drafted by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, incorporated many of Franklin's suggestions, and was presented to Congress on July 12, 1776. After long discussion and many alterations, the Continental Congress, in session at York, Pennsylvania, agreed to the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union on November 15, 1777. Pennsylvania was among the first to ratify the Articles, on July 12, 1778, but the last state did not ratify until 1781, by which time the weaknesses of the Confederation were becoming all too apparent.

The year 1785 saw the beginning of the steps leading to the making of a new and stronger constitution. Virginia and Maryland representatives held a conference at Mount Vernon to discuss certain problems of commerce, especially in regard to the navigation of the Potomac River. As other states had similar matters to deal with, it was proposed that a larger and more general conference should be held at Annapolis in 1786. Only five states sent delegates to Annapolis, among them Pennsylvania: a former Pennsylvanian, John Dickinson, now of Delaware, was elected chairman. Not enough states were represented to accomplish anything definite, and at the suggestion of Alexander Hamilton, delegate from New York, the conference urged that another convention be held in May, 1787, at Philadelphia to consider measures for the strengthening of the central government.

Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Georgia had provided for sending delegations to the federal convention, even before the Congress finally heeded the suggestion of the Annapolis conference and, on February 1, 1787, passed a resolution authorizing the convention. By act of December 30, 1786, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania had appointed seven deputies, and on March 28, 1787, it added an eighth deputy, Benjamin Franklin, the greatest living Pennsylvanian.

The Pennsylvania delegation to the federal convention was more numerous than any sent by the other states, and among the most distinguished. Only six of the signers of the Declaration of Independence signed the Constitution, and of these, four came from Pennsylvania. The State's eight delegates were all residents of Philadelphia and received neither salary nor expenses.

The venerable Benjamin Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, was the President of Pennsylvania at that time. His many and distinguished services to America made him greatly respected by the other members, although his poor health kept him from taking an active part in debate. His speeches were read for him by James Wilson, one of the great leaders of the convention.

James Wilson, born in Scotland in 1742, had come to Philadelphia in 1765. He was counted among the ablest lawyers of his time, and his deep understanding of political science made him one of the principal architects of the Constitution. Active in all the debates of the convention, he spoke 168 times, more often than any other member except Gouverneur Morris.

Historial Society of Pennsylvania

Gouverneur Morris

The brilliant and talkative Gouverneur Morris, who spoke 173 times, was a delegate from Pennsylvania, although he was really a New Yorker. He had become a banker and lawyer in Philadelphia a few years before the convention, but later returned to New York.

The other Pennsylvania members took lesser parts in the convention, for a variety of reasons. Thomas Mifflin was speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, which was in session during much of the period when the convention met. George Clymer and Thomas Fitzsimmons were members of the Assembly. Jared Ingersoll was one of the great legal minds of his day; it is said that he often gave advice to members on the difficult legal problems involved in the making of the Constitution, but he took little part in the debates. Robert Morris, the "Financier of the Revolution," was present and voted, but made no lengthy speeches.

The delegations from other states were equally outstanding. Among Virginia's members were George Washington, James Madison, Edmund Randolph, and George Mason. John Dickinson led the Delaware delegation, while Alexander Hamilton was a member from New York. Gunning Bedford, Delaware, and Hugh Williamson, North Carolina, were born in Pennsylvania.

The convention was scheduled to begin on Monday, May 14, 1787, in the Pennsylvania State House, now Independence Hall, but only Pennsylvania and Virginia were represented that day. A quorum to conduct business was not obtained for two weeks, bad weather delaying many of the delegates. This time was not entirely wasted, however, for the Pennsylvania and Virginia members held a number of informal conferences at which they agreed upon a common course of action. These two states had a great deal in common, as both were large and prosperous. Exactly what took place during these discussions has never been known, but it may be safely assumed that the Virginia Plan for a constitution was examined in detail, and that the two state delegations established the cordial relations which were apparent during the convention.

At the opening session, on May 25, Robert Morris, in the name of the Pennsylvania delegation, nominated George Washington as president of the convention. He was unanimously elected, no other persons being nominated.

On May 29, the work of the convention really began, when Edmund Randolph presented the fifteen resolutions of the Virginia Plan, which was essentially the outline from which the Constitution was developed. It was finally resolved, with Pennsylvania voting in the affirmative, "that a national government ought to be established consisting of a supreme Legislative Executive and Judiciary." This meant, in effect, that the Articles would be disregarded.

Argument then arose over the details of the Virginia Plan, how the lower and upper houses were to be elected, and related questions. Pennsylvania members, and especially James Wilson, spoke out for popular government. In the words of Madison, "Mr. Wilson contended strenuously for drawing the most numerous branch of the Legislature immediately from the people. He was for raising the federal pyramid to a considerable altitude, and for that reason wished

Smithsonian Institution

James Wilson

to give it as broad a basis as possible. No government could long subsist without the confidence of the people. In a republican Government this confidence was peculiarly essential. . . . He thought both branches of the National Legislature ought to be chosen by the people."

The convention voted in favor of the election of members of the lower house by the people, but could not come to agreement on the method of electing the upper house, or Senate. Pennsylvania and Virginia, as large states, wished representation in both houses to be in proportion to population, while most of the smaller states wanted equal representation for states.

William Paterson of New Jersey summed up the wishes of the small states in the New Jersey Plan, presented to the convention on June 15. This called for the mere amendment and strengthening of the Articles of Confederation, leaving Congress as it was, but granting it considerable powers of taxation as well as power to regulate commerce. Most important of all, it first proposed that the constitution and the treaties made under it should be the supreme law of the land.

The essential issue was now plain, whether the powers of the federal government were to be derived from the people or from the states. James Wilson replied to the advocates of the New Jersey Plan, making a careful analysis of the details of the two plans. Doubting that the sentiments of the people were opposed to a strong national government, he said that the feelings "of the particular circle in which one moved, were commonly mistaken for the general voice. . . . He could not persuade himself that the State Governments and Sovereignties were so much the idols of the people, nor a National Government so obnoxious to them, as some supposed. Why should a National Government be unpopular? Has it less dignity? Will each Citizen enjoy under it less liberty and protection? Will a Citizen of *Delaware* be degraded by becoming a Citizen of the *United States?*"

This speech was one of the most effective made during the convention. Madison of Virginia concluded the argument for the large-state party on June 19, with the result that the Virginia Plan was again approved by the majority. Still the opposition of the small states was not weakened, and many members felt that a breakup of the convention was imminent. Benjamin Franklin spoke in favor of compromise, saying:

> The diversity of opinions turns on two points. If a proportional representation takes place, the small States contend that their liberties will be in danger. If an equality of votes is to be put in its place, the large States say their money will be in danger. When a broad table is to be made, and the edges of planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both, and makes a good joint. In like manner here both sides must part with some of their demands, in order that they may join in some accommodating proposition.

Already the basis for such a compromise had been suggested by Connecticut delegates, namely, to give the states equal votes in the Senate, if the House were to be elected in proportion to population. Ellsworth of Connecticut said that "the few should have a check upon the many." In the end a committee of one member from each state was appointed to work out a compromise plan. Pennsylvania's member was Benjamin Franklin, whose motion in the committee gave practical form to Connecticut's suggestion. The House should have one representative for every 40,000 inhabitants, and should originate all bills for raising or appropriating money. Each state should have an equal vote in the Senate. The larger states still opposed this, but the great compromise finally passed on July 16.

This quieted the fear of the small states that a strong national government might be dominated by the large states. The work of the convention was not again threatened by serious controversy. It proceeded to consider and develop the other features of the Virginia Plan, providing for the system of checks and balances which characterizes the American federal government. Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court, the three great branches of government, were given definite but adequate powers, yet the rights of the states were carefully safeguarded.

The subject of the President's election and length of term gave rise to lengthy discussions. Not until the last days of the convention was the present Electoral College system of electing the President adopted, largely because of the forceful arguments of Gouverneur Morris. This, at least, gave the people and not Congress the determining voice in the election of the chief executive.

The results of the convention's work were turned over to a committee of detail, which was to prepare a constitution embodying the various decisions. Wilson, the Pennsylvania member of the committee, did most of the actual writing and compilation of this first draft of the Constitution. His committee reported on August 6, and for five weeks the convention analyzed, questioned, and argued over every clause and section of the document. A committee on style and arrangement was then appointed, of which Gouverneur Morris was the leading member, for it was he who actually wrote the final version of the Constitution. The most important new feature added by this committee was the Preamble beginning "We the People of the United States." It is said that James Wilson had some share in the making of this last draft, though he was not a member of the committee. The finished Constitution was approved by the convention on September 15, and formally adopted and signed on September 17. It was to go into effect when ratified by conventions in at least nine of the states.

Pennsylvania's leadership in the framing of the federal Constitution had been all-important. She had furnished two principal leaders of the convention, and her delegation had supported every move to strengthen the national government. The Keystone State also displayed leadership in the fight for ratification.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1969. Second edition. Text by Donald H. Kent; edited by Dr. S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

A French Asylum on the Susquehanna River

SOUTHWARD from New York state the lovely Susquehanna winds its meandering way through the wooded hills of Bradford County, Pennsylvania. At a point about ten miles below Towanda, between Wysox and Wyalusing, it arches eastward into a great horseshoe bend, half encircling a terrace of land that slopes gently backward into the western hills. From the highway that skirts the ridge of Rummerfield Mountain on the opposite side of the river, its 1,600 acres can be seen neatly divided into carefully tilled fields and pasture land. A fringe of trees borders the river's edge and small patches of woods stand near isolated farmhouses and on the bordering heights. A scene of undisturbed pastoral calm banded by a glistening arm of silvery water, this fertile crescent of land was *Azilum*—or Asylum.

Courtesy National Gallery of Art

Queen Marie Antoinette, attributed to Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun.

Many, many years ago when northern Pennsylvania was Indian country this place was known as Missicum—the "Meadows." The settlers who moved into the valley from Connecticut called it Standing Stone, after the monolithic stone shaft that rises high out of the river bed near the western bank, a landmark from time immemorial. But to a little group of exiles who stepped ashore at this remote spot in the late fall of the year 1793, it was a haven far removed from the dangers of revolution, imprisonment, slave insurrections, and yellow fever. To them it was *Azilum*—a place of refuge.

These refugees, who had come up the Susquehanna from Catawissa and Wilkes-Barre in Durham boats and dugout canoes furnished by the trader Matthias Hollenback, were citizens of France and of her West Indies colony of Santo Domingo (Haiti). Those from France had fled to Philadelphia to escape the certain imprisonment and probable death for which their loyalty to Louis XVI marked them. A few were of the courtier circle close to the king; some were of the minor nobility, officeholders, army officers, professional men, clergymen, merchants, and a few artisans. Politically, the leaders were men of liberal inclinations who had worked to reform the government of France of its worst abuses but to retain the king as a constitutional monarch. Their moderate program had recently been thrust aside by fanatical revolutionaries, who followed a policy of exterminating all who were suspected of the slightest sympathy or attachment to the hapless Bourbon rulers. Emigrés by

Azilum, sketched by le comte Colbert de Maulevrier from across the Susquehanna River on a visit in 1794.

Courtesy Countess Paul de Leusse, Paris

the thousands streamed across the borders of France seeking sanctuary in other countries.

The exodus from Santo Domingo in 1793 was a flight from the carnage of the slave and mulatto uprising which followed the declaration of equality by the radical French Assembly. Plantations were laid waste, estates were burned, and whites were slain by the rebellious Negroes. Some who secured passage to the mainland arrived destitute of all material goods. About 2,000 distraught Santo Domingans landed at Philadelphia in the summer of that year. They were aided by sympathetic Philadelphians and by such leading Franco-Americans as Stephen Girard and Peter Duponceau, who organized the French Benevolent Society of Philadelphia to provide the essentials so desperately needed. In explaining the cause of the loathsome yellow feved epidemic which swept Philadelphia in the summer and fall of 1793, some suspected that the Santo Domingans had brought it with them.

An American who was close to several of the principal French exiles responsible for the founding of the colony was Pennsylvania's Senator Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution, merchant, and land speculator. Through him and his partner John Nicholson, Pennsylvania's comptroller general, a large tract of land in the northern wilderness of the State was to be purchased and transformed into a woodland Arcadia. The settlement of this region would increase the value of other lands owned by Morris. The exiles, their families, and, according to a story so far unverified, even the Queen of France herself, the ill-fated Marie Antoinette, and her two children would here at last find peace and security.

Getting the settlement started was the task of two Frenchmen, Antoine Omer Talon and Louis de Noailles. Prior to exile, Talon had been an attorney, later chief justice of the criminal court of France, and head of the royal secret service. An advisor and confidant of Louis XVI, he would have inevitably met death by the guillotine had he not escaped to England, from whence he took passage to America. De Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette, was no stranger to this country, for he had fought with distinction during the Revolution. As a member of the French National Assembly of 1789, he had introduced several liberal measures aimed at reducing the traditional privileges of the French aristocracy. The rise of radicals to power compelled him to abandon France, leaving all his family, including his mother, who had been chief maid of honor to Marie Antoinette. With Captain John Keating, a capable French army officer (of Irish origin) from Santo Domingo, and counseled by Morris and other eminent Philadelphians, they planned the colony at Standing Stone, soon to be more appropriately named "Azilum."

Selection of the attractive river terrace for the colony was made through Charles Bué Boulogne, a Frenchman with experience in American land transactions, who was shown a number of sites along the river. Three hundred of the 1,600 acres were laid out as a town plot, with a two-acre market square at its center, from which ran streets laid in a gridiron. A startling departure from custom was the width of the streets, the principal street from the river landing to the square being 100 feet wide and the others sixty-six feet broad. Within the town were 413 lots of

approximately a half acre each. To the west a number of larger, uncleared lots were marked off for farm plots or future development as the colony grew.

Clearing the land, getting building materials, putting up the first dwellings, and assuring a food supply were done under the direction of Talon, aided by Hollenback, Dupetit-Thouars, and an exiled army captain, De Montullé. Men were hired in Wilkes-Barre, Tioga Point, and other river communities to push the work before extreme winter weather set in. The Frenchmen themselves were, for the most part, poorly fitted for rough, manual labor; hence much of the early backbreaking toil was done by hired workers, who took advantage of their employers' ignorance of language and money values and overcharged them. By the following spring, when more of the exiles came up from Philadelphia, about thirty rough log houses had been built. In time, several small shops, a schoolhouse, a chapel, and a theater appeared around the market square. Crude though the structures were, many had chimneys, wallpaper, window glass, shutters, and porches to satisfy the desire for beauty with comfort. What few furnishings and precious household items they had brought with them from overseas became treasured items, little extravagances that kept fresh the memory of earlier days of luxury. A visitor to Asylum in 1798 reported seeing a piano in one of the homes. Dairying and sheep raising were begun; orchards and gardens planted; a gristmill, blacksmith's shop, and a distillery were erected; and potash and pearlash manufactured to be used in making soap, gunpowder, glass, and fertilizer. Mail was carried weekly by an express rider traveling on horseback to Philadelphia.

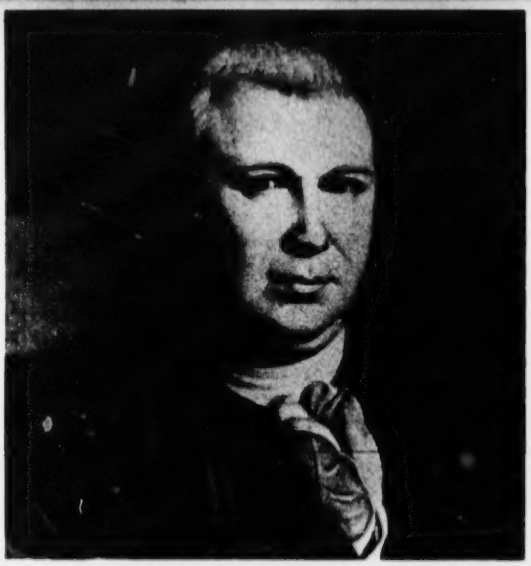
Courtesy Girard College

Stephen Girard, by Bass Otis.

Most imposing of the buildings in the colony was "La Grande Maison," a large two-story log house, eighty-four feet long and sixty feet wide, with numerous small-paned windows and eight large fireplaces. It has been said that this was to be a dwelling for the queen, but no written record to verify this has yet been found. Talon, who had directed construction of the house, lived in it for several years.

The Duc de la Rochefoucald-Liancourt, a French nobleman who visited the colony for twelve days in 1795, found there such persons as the Marquis de Blacons, a former deputy, keeping a haberdasher's shop in partnership with Colin de Sevigny, erstwhile archdeacon. A cleric, Bec-de-Liévre, was now a shopkeeper, and Beaulieu, a captain of infantry, had turned innkeeper. From Santo Domingo had come Buzard, a planter and physician, bringing wife, children, and slaves. Another was Renaud, a wealthy merchant who had salvaged part of an immense fortune. Nores and Carles, clergymen, were proving to be apt farmers, and the sons of the widow d'Autremont, one a notary and the other a watchmaker, had become hewers of wood and tillers of the soil. A most colorful figure was Aristide Dupetit-Thouars, one-armed naval hero, fondly called "the Admiral," who was now cheerfully clearing several hundred acres of land given to him for his services. Deviously derived from his name is that of Dushore, a town some twenty miles distant. There were also artisans and workmen, some Americans among them.

Life at Asylum was not entirely a monotonously grim battle with the wilderness. The volatile, fun-loving French found time for picnics, for boating and sleighing parties, for dances in the pavilion on Prospect Rock, and for staging plays in their theater. "La Grande Maison" was the scene of gay assemblies and



Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia

Robert Morris, by Charles Willson Peale.

dinners in honor of notable visitors such as Talleyrand, Louis Philippe, who was later king, and his princely brothers, and Liancourt. Jewels and richly embroidered silk gowns were worn by the ladies on these festive occasions, and their male escorts were but a shade less dazzling in their satin knee breeches, colorful coats, and buckled shoes.

But Asylum was not to endure. There was latent and at times open dislike of the colonists by some Americans, aggravated by the wartime edicts of the French government that after 1795 resulted in seizure and confiscation of American ships and cargoes. The income of the colony's founders from French sources had been cut off, costs were high; titles to lands of the Asylum Company, formed as a speculation in a million acres of surrounding country, were disputed; and Morris and Nicholson went into bankruptcy for the sum of ten million dollars. Times were hard and money tight.

In the later years of the 1790's the émigrés gradually drifted away to the southern cities of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, and some returned to Santo Domingo. Nostalgia set in, for the Frenchmen loved their mother country and yearned for a reuniting with kin and a return to the old familiar Gallic ways of life. Napoleon Bonaparte at last made this possible. Some families, however, the Homets, LaPortes, LeFevres, Keatings, Brevosts, and D'Autremonts, chose to remain. In later years their descendants, in a minor diaspora, moved from Asylum and aided in the settlement and development of Wysox, Wyalusing, Athens, Towanda, and Wilkes-Barre, and communities in southern New York State.

The impress the French colony left on northern Pennsylvania is apparent in such names as Frenchtown, Asylum Township, Laporte, Homet's Ferry, Coudersport, Smethport, Roulette, Keating, and Dushore. But more important was the initiative of these exiles that spurred improved transportation, began new industries, introduced better breeding of livestock and cultivation of new crops, and brought more hard metal into use in a barter economy. For a decade Asylum was a little island of old world culture casting its civilizing influences into the rugged frontier of our northern counties.

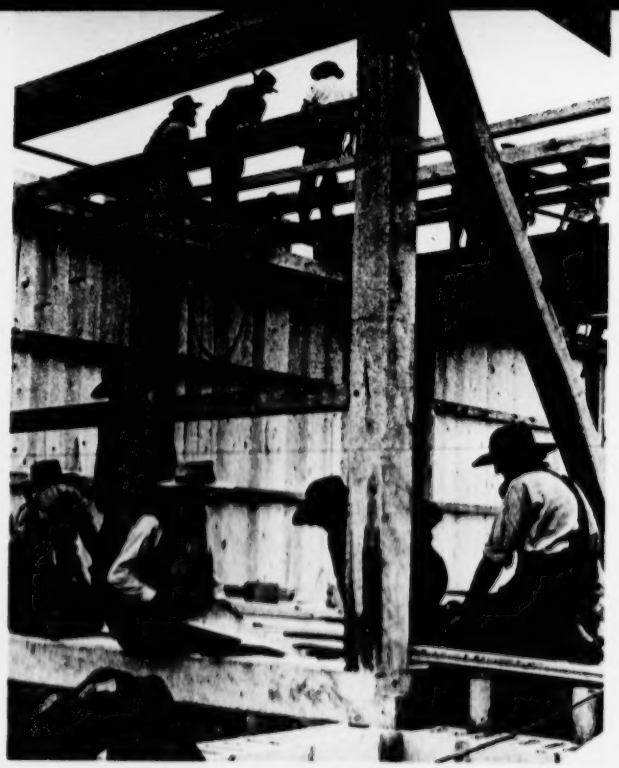
Time has not erased all of the visible evidences of the Asylum colony, though not one of the more than fifty structures erected by the refugees has survived, and the gardens carefully laid out by them have been tilled as farm land for many generations by later residents. The spring of water that supplied "La Grande Maison" burbles on; a millrace and millstones can be seen at Homet's; and the sharp-eyed will spot vestiges of the old road that ran over the mountain toward the Loyalsock. "Ossenpachte" —old "Standing Stone"—still stands indomitable against the wear of flood and weathering. Close to the site of "La Grande Maison" a country residence was built in 1836 by John LaPorte, son of the exile Barthélemé Laporte. Here visitors may see a colonial oven, early fireplaces, handhewn timbers, wall decorations of French origin, hand-blown glass windows glazed with white lead, and other furnishings of the period.

Thirty miles up the Susquehanna River in the Tioga Point Museum at Athens, documents, memorabilia, and family traditions have been gathered together over many years to furnish the sources for the history of Asylum. The tract itself is to be developed and interpreted for visitors by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1969. Fourth edition, revised. Text by Norman B. Wilkinson; edited by Dr. S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

The Amish

In American Culture



An Amish Barn-raising

THE AMISH People in America are not a new religious sect, but a very old one, stemming from the Mennonites, who arose directly out of the Reformation struggles of the sixteenth century. Mennonites read the Bible seriously, but more than that they took it seriously. They said a man does not become a Christian by being baptized, nor even by joining a church, but by having an inner regeneration of soul proved by outward behavior. They agreed with Luther that every man has the right to pray and have faith in God, whenever and however he wants, without the sanction of a preacher or priest. They taught that a Christian must separate himself from wickedness and bring his entire behavior under the lordship of Christ.

The idea spread rapidly but everywhere met terrific opposition and cruel persecution. The movement finally dwindled in enthusiasm. Many of those who escaped gave up the idea of evangelism and became the quiet farmers of the hills and valleys of Switzerland and the Palatinate.

The Amish group developed out of the Mennonites from 1693 to 1697. Jacob Ammann, a young Mennonite bishop of Switzerland, emphasized the need for more serious observance of what he called "the old ground and foundation" and succeeded in gaining a considerable following. He was not a reformer, but a defender of the early Mennonite tradition in dress and doctrine. To this very day the Amish have retained the externals of a former way of life, together with a strong devotion to sixteenth-century Mennonite ideals.

With Mennonites, they came to America in large numbers after 1710, and they live side by side, often in the same community. While both share a similar background, the distinction is largely one of dress and manner of worship. A conservative estimate of the number of Amish, including children, would seem to be about 60,000.

Each local community is divided into church districts, and each contains about twenty-five to forty families. The size of districts is limited by horse and buggy transportation, and because worship is held in homes only a limited number of people can be accommodated. There is generally one bishop for each of the districts, as well as two to four preachers and a deacon. The total number of church districts is over 300.

The largest group is not the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, settlement as is commonly supposed. The greatest concentration is in Holmes and adjoining counties in northeastern Ohio. Next in size is the group in Elkhart and surrounding counties in northeastern Indiana. The oldest, richest, and third largest group is the settlement centering in Lancaster County. Other settlements are located in central and western Pennsylvania and in Iowa, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Oklahoma, Delaware, Virginia, Oregon, North Dakota, Missouri, and Ontario, Canada. A few miles east of

47

Sarasota, Florida, there is a winter migratory settlement. New settlements have begun in Paraguay and Honduras.

Religion is the axis around which the Amishman's world revolves. Whole households come to "preaching" held every other Sunday. Men, women, and children gather in the home of a member for worship. This is made possible often by the removable partitions and doors between the large rooms on the first floor of the house. Everybody shakes hands on Sunday morning, and ministers greet each other with the holy kiss as commanded in the Bible (I Thessalonians 5:26). Preaching begins about nine or earlier and ends after noon. The service consists of two sermons, sometimes silent prayers as well as oral, which are read, testimonies from ministers, and singing.

Children learn early to sit attentively, although games with handkerchiefs (making objects such as mice) and "half-moon" pies (in Pennsylvania) or crackers served to toddlers during midservice help to minimize their restlessness. The social hour and lunch (coffee, bread, butter, pickles, red beets, and pie) following the service is a valuable part of the meeting. Men discuss religious subjects and also the happenings of the day, farming, and personal and community problems. Women do likewise. Young men gather about the barn or buggies for jokes, good-natured teasing, and conversation related to courtship.

The Sunday meeting is but an outward manifestation of an Amishman's religion. How religion controls his thinking, with what purpose he lives, and why he acts as he does are far more significant. Without religion the Amishman could not be Amish; he cannot separate his belief from eating, sleeping, and working. He simply could not exist without it. The Amish support no "revivals," missionary activity, or evangelistic activities of their own. Their religion is directed toward making the Amishman an upright man and a first-rate farmer, and that is all. Given the force of custom, his faith produces a wholesome simplicity of life relatively free from snobbishness and the worldliness he abhors. A few of the young people, however, rebel against the extreme formalism and find it impossible to adjust.

Ministers are chosen from their own congregations by lot for life, and there is no specialized training. They receive no salary. There is no need for constructing and maintaining a costly church building for worship when services can be held in the homes. Not even a written membership list is kept. Why should they bother with one, when everyone knows everyone else?

There is a popular notion that an Amishman has plenty of good hard cash, and that he can dig it out of his pants pocket on demand. This idea is unfounded, but easy to believe because he often pays his bills in cash. He feeds his family well, but he does not have large investments in commercial enterprises. His money is put back into the land. As a whole his income is probably less than that of the average farmer. He does not have the expense of upkeep on automobiles and some high-cost machinery, but his gross income is somewhat limited. He is not a "money grubber," but he firmly believes in saving. Security for him is not just money, but a family, a religion, and a farm. He wants no more land than necessary to raise a family. Except for the tobacco crop in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and a few other exceptions, such as dairying, he generally does not engage in specialized farming. Of course, every father strives to provide a farm for each of his sons.

Contrary to popular opinion, the Amish possess one of the richest folk arts in America. Much of their decorative art belongs unmistakably to the "Pennsylvania Dutch" type. One can find such motifs as the dove, rose, heart, tree of life, and peacock on such articles as "show" towels, illuminated hand-drawing, cards of friendship, and needlecraft. It must be noted, however, that while this artwork is frequently found in their homes today, it is largely representative of an earlier period; for not much of it is being produced by present-day Amish. But they do produce an art of their own. This is manifested in decorative designs on furniture, family registers, and illuminated verse, and in needlecraft objects of various kinds.

Amish religion has not thwarted their love of color. Their flourishing flower gardens are proof of this. They favor plain but bright colors—pur-

Amish Children

ple, pink, red, orange, and blue are common. Neither do they reject all colorful designs in embroidery as "worldly," as did some colonial religious iconoclasts. China closets, colorful dishes, and large picture calendars, items which combine utility with beauty, are a particular delight.

Visiting the "Freindschaft" (kinship) is a dominant form of pastime among the Amish. Every other Sunday is usually open for visiting, but in a few places Sunday school is alternated with church service during the summer months. Special days are also observed by visiting, such as New Year's Day, Epiphany (Old Christmas), Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. In some localities Easter Monday and the day following Christmas are also hallowed, a survival of European times.

Weddings, which are held during November and December, also provide opportunity for fellowship and enjoyment. An abundance of good food—chicken, turkey, ham, dressing, mashed potatoes, gravy, cole slaw, celery, peaches, prunes, pickles, jams, pies, cookies, and many varieties of cake—is served. The "Eck" (bridal corner) is especially decorated with colorful dishes, fancy layer cakes, and fruit.

The occasions which provide the best opportunity for association of young people are the "singings" after chores are done on Sunday evening. The young man dresses in his best, brushes his hat and suit, and makes sure that his horse and "rig" are in good taste. He may take his sister to the singing, or if he takes his girl he will arrange to pick her up about dusk, perhaps at her home or at the end of a lane or crossroad. In some localities the young folks meet in villages to pair off in couples. Considerable secrecy pervades these festivities through the entire period of courtship, regardless of length.

Young folks also get together at husking bees, weddings, apple "snitzings" (apple-peeling parties), and frolics. In addition to taking his girl home after the singing, the boy who has a steady girl will see her every week or two on Saturday night. Before entering the home of his girl he makes sure that the old folks are in bed. When his flashlight focuses on her window, the girl knows that her lover has arrived. They spend several hours together in the "sitting room," but they do not leave the home on such occasions.

The blue gate legend, that an Amishman paints his gate blue to announce to the world that he has a marriageable daughter, is entirely a myth. Actually, in an Amish community there is no need, much less a desire, to advertise a marriageable daughter, either to the Amish or to the stranger, since they marry only members of the same faith and all members know the status of all other families.

Perhaps less is known about the history of the Amish costume than of any other aspect of their material culture. We know that it is very old, and that it conforms favorably with styles once common in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dress varies in each local community, so only general features can be noted here.

Buttons are used on men's shirts, trousers, and underwear, and on children's dresses, but hooks-and-eyes are required on men's coats and vests, especially on Sunday clothing. Men's trousers are the broad-fall type, also called "barn-door britches" (like sailor pants), and they are homemade as are most Amish garments.

Peculiar to men's dress (for members) is the "Mootsa," a special kind of coat with a split tail which must always be worn for church. The origin of this coat is yet a mystery, but it is thought to come from the "shadbelly" coat of former times when men wore long coats split at the back for riding horseback. Formerly these long coattails were fastened to the sleeves with buttons to prevent them from becoming soiled while traveling. Men wear dark Sunday suits and plain-colored shirts. Most homemade shirts have no collars. In many localities suspenders are also homemade. The beard is required of all adult members of the church, and it must begin to appear at the time of baptism or marriage, depending on the local practice.

The women also wear plain colors, often black, blue, red, purple, or brown. The "Holsduch" (kerchief or cape) and apron are part of the full Sunday dress as are black bonnets and shawls. The Amish bonnet is believed to originate from Quaker costume. The "Kapp" (prayer veil) worn by teen-age girls is black, but once they are married the white one is worn. The white one is also worn by the school and school-age girls.

The prayer veil is worn not only for worship but all the time. This observance is a "sign of authority" based upon Bible teaching (I Corinthians 11) and symbolizes for them the woman's proper relationship to God and man. She "is to be veiled because of the angels." Also, the woman is not to have her hair cut. The Amish believe that God has called them to be a "nonconformed" (Romans 12:1) people, a "peculiar" people.

Amish parents want their children to acquire the skills of reading, writing, and ciphering. For this reason they want their children to attend the elementary schools. After completing the grades, however, they believe that Amish youth should get their instruction in farming and management at home. This vocation, they contend, does not require higher education, and such schooling is "a waste of time." Too much "book learning" is not good.

Their belief in the one-room country school is an attempt to maintain the integrity of their life, particularly family and community life. They desire above all to keep their children from secular influences, such as movies. They are against school consolidation because it would expose their children to new influences beyond family control. Therefore, many communities have begun to maintain their own private parochial schools. But a new problem arises in that the Amish themselves do not attend colleges to prepare for teaching positions, so it becomes necessary for them to hire "outside" teachers.

The child acquires a knowledge of skills largely through association with his parents in learning to work. From the start boys are introduced to farming operations, and they almost invariably develop a keen interest in farming. Girls are trained to perform small favors for their mothers and to practice the arts of cooking and housekeeping.

The Amish are not ignorant of world events. They pay their taxes gladly, ask little of the government, and want to be left alone to "work out their salvation with fear and trembling." But there is wholesome humor too, and Amish hospitality is unsurpassable!

It is their hope that by living a peaceful and Godly life they can witness to a higher way of life. They do not entertain any utopian ideas about possessing the whole world or converting it. They attest that there will always be enough people to perform the task of the magistracy, the police, and the military. But they believe that candidates for the Biblical way of life, which non-resistant and obedient Christians alone can fulfill, are altogether too few.

The sixty settlements of Amish people in North America are small brotherhoods of a kind necessary to national life and well-being. The foundations of any civilization depend on the moral quality of the people living in it. Where better can such virtues as neighborliness, self-control, good will, and co-operation be found than in small communities? Perhaps the modern, hurried, worried, and fearful world could learn something from them.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1972. Fourth Edition. Text by John A. Hostetler; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.

Young Washington in Pennsylvania

WITHIN the present boundaries of Pennsylvania the young George Washington performed his first important public services, in connection with the first great war in which Americans and Britons fought side by side "for the blessings of religious and civil liberty." The conflict which was known in America as the French and Indian War began in the wilderness of western Pennsylvaina, and the man who later gained the title of Father of his Country played a highly significant part in the opening phase of the war.

The future of America was at stake in 1753, when a French army from Canada invaded the upper Allegheny Valley as the opening thrust of a drive to control the Ohio Valley. Control of this great interior valley of North America would halt the westward expansion of the British colonies and confine them to the narrow region east of the Appalachians, condemning them to relative insignificance. The free institutions inherited from the British motherland would be stifled in the shadow of absolute monarchy.

The energetic Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia was not slow to challenge this aggressive move into land claimed by the King of England. His first measure was naturally to give notice of trespass to the French intruders. This would not be an easy task, for hundreds of miles of wilderness lay between the frontier settlements of Virginia and the nearest French post, Fort Le Boeuf (now Waterford, Erie County). He asked a young man of twenty-one, member of a leading Virginia family, to undertake the mission. The young man accepted without hesitation. Thus George Washington began his first great adventure.

He set out from Williamsburg, Virginia, on October 31, 1753, traveling first to Wills Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland), where he hired Christopher Gist to act as his guide. The next day, November 15, he left this post on the edge of the settled regions, and with Gist and four other companions went on through rain and snow. He reached the forks of the Ohio, the present site of Pittsburgh, about November 23, and described the place as "extremely well situated for a Fort." Next he came to Logstown (near present-day Ambridge). At this famous Indian town he spent five days, in council with the Indians, endeavoring to strengthen their friendship for the English. As a result, three Indian leaders—the Half King, Jeskakake, White Thunder—and a hunter accompanied him when he resumed his journey on November 30.

December 4, Washington and his oddly-assorted escort reached Venango (now Franklin), where French Creek enters the Allegheny River. Here he met the famous French Indian agent Joncaire, who had taken possession of the house of an English trader. Joncaire and his fellow officers entertained the Virginian, with food and otherwise: "The Wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the Restraint which at first appeared in their Conversation; and gave a license to the

Washington and Lee University

Washington as a colonel of militia, painted by Charles Willson Peale at Mount Vernon, 1772.

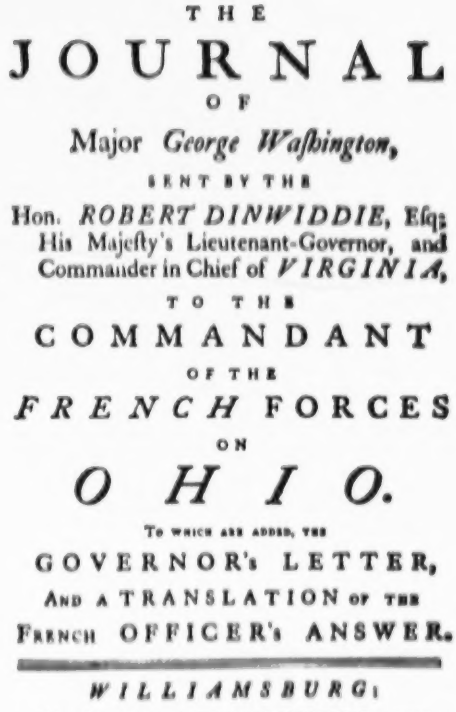
Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely. They told me, That it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the Ohio. . . . They were sensible the English could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from a Discovery made by one La Salle; and the Rise of this Expedition is, to prevent our settling on the River or Waters of it, as they had heard of some Families moving-out. . . ."

Next day it rained so heavily that Washington could not continue his journey. The wily Joncaire took full advantage of his opportunity to influence his Indian companions, plying them with liquor and urging them to remain at Venango for a council. As a result, Washington could not leave until the morning of December 7. Because of "excessive Rains, Snows, and bad Traveling, through many Mires and Swamps," he did not arrive at Fort Le Boeuf until the 11th.

The commander, Legardeur de Saint Pierre, received him with courtesy. Legardeur de Repentigny, commanding at Fort Presque Isle, who had some knowledge of English, came to translate Dinwiddie's letter. Thus was the challenge stated:

> The lands upon the River Ohio, in the western parts of the Colony of Virginia, are so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain that it is a matter of equal concern and surprise to me, to hear that a body of French forces are erecting fortresses and making settlements upon that river, within his Majesty's dominions.
>
> . . . It becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure; and that you would forbear prosecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King.

The "elderly Gentleman," as Washington described Saint Pierre, was unwavering in his resolve to carry out the orders of the French Governor, Marquis Duquesne. When Washington asked him "by what Authority he had made Prisoners of several of our English Subjects,"



THE
JOURNAL
OF
Major *George Washington*,
SENT BY THE
Hon. *ROBERT DINWIDDIE*, Esq;
His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and
Commander in Chief of *VIRGINIA*,
TO THE
COMMANDANT
OF THE
FRENCH FORCES
ON
OHIO.
To which are added, the
GOVERNOR's LETTER,
And a TRANSLATION of the
French OFFICER's ANSWER.

WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed by WILLIAM HUNTER. 1754.

Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

Title page of Washington's Journal *of the expedition to Fort Le Boeuf, Williamsburg, 1754.*

he replied "that the Country belong'd to them; that no Englishman had a Right to trade upon those Waters; and that he had Orders to make every Person Prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the Waters of it." His letter of reply to the Governor of Virginia was equally firm. A single line of this answer sums it up: "As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it." The letter closed with polite expressions of esteem for the Governor and his representative: "I have made it my duty to treat Mr. Washington with all the respect owing to your dignity and his personal merit, and I flatter myself, Sir, that he will do me the justice to be my witness for it with you. . . ." Continuous intrigue and interference by the French with his Indian escort revealed the aggressive intention under the friendly veneer.

The journey homeward was even more arduous than the trip to the French fort. The French

gave Washington and his party a canoe for the trip down French Creek, but they had "a tedious and very fatiguing Passage." The stream was turbulent and full of floating ice; several times they had to "remain in the Water Half an Hour or more, getting over the Shoals." Though they left Fort Le Boeuf on December 16, they did not arrive at Venango until the 22nd. Here the Indians gave in to the blandishments of the French, and Washington went on with only his white companions. The horses were tired and overloaded with baggage, so that they traveled very slowly. After three days of slow progress, Washington decided to set out with Gist by the "nearest Way through the Woods, on Foot." He left the interpreter Van Braam in charge of the baggage, to bring it along as fast as might be convenient.

Never did Washington more clearly demonstrate his courage and determination to do his duty than when he set out on the 26th with Gist as his sole companion. To the heavy snow and icy winds was added the peril from hostile Indians. One fired a shot at them the next day, and they traveled by night to escape pursuit. Poling across the Allegheny River on a hastily-contrived raft, Washington was thrown into the half-frozen river, but caught hold of the raft and saved himself. They spent the night on an island; next day the river had frozen enough to permit them to cross on solid ice.

Washington returned to Williamsburg on January 16, 1754, and delivered the French reply to Governor Dinwiddie. He also gave the Governor the journal which he had kept of his adventures, and was much surprised when Dinwiddie ordered it to be printed. This straightforward, if unpolished, narrative—with its many details describing the French fort and the French attitude—made a strong impression both in the American colonies and in Great Britain. Keen-minded, alert to observe, young Washington had prepared convincing proof of the actuality of danger from the French.

The issue was made plain, and in the war which developed from Dinwiddie's challenge to the French invasion, Washington rendered other notable services. In the spring of 1754, he commanded a force of Virginia militia sent to aid the new British fort which was being erected at the forks of the Ohio. The French captured it before he had crossed the mountains, but he continued his advance into southwestern Pennsylvania. On May 28, he surprised a small French detachment under Villiers de Jumonville on Laurel Hill in Fayette County. The skirmish which followed was the first battle of the French and Indian War. Jumonville was killed, and all but one of his party killed or taken prisoner.

Knowing that his force was inferior in number to the French, Washington finally retreated to the Great Meadows (ten miles east of present-day Uniontown, on the National Road), where Fort Necessity was hastily built. Besieged by French and Indians in superior numbers on July 3, Washington was compelled to surrender. The French permitted him and the garrison to "retire into his own country." Shortage of supplies and ammunition and lack of men had led to the first defeat of Washington's career.

He served with distinction on the two later campaigns against the French in western Penn-

The George Washington Atlas

Washington's sketch map of country traveled between Cumberland, Md., and Fort Le Boeuf, 1753-54. Original in Public Record Office, London.

sylvania. In 1755, as volunteer aide on the staff of General Edward Braddock, he gave the British commander good advice which, if followed, might have averted the crushing defeat on July 9. Four bullet holes in his clothing, two horses shot under him, were evidence of his personal bravery in this disastrous battle. He helped carry the mortally wounded Braddock from the field.

Appreciation of his ability and leadership was then manifested by the government of Virginia, which made him colonel and commander-in-chief of the forces protecting the frontier of that colony. He did not take part in another major campaign on Pennsylvania soil until 1758, when he joined the expedition led by General John Forbes to capture Fort Duquesne, the French fort on the site of modern Pittsburgh. He was with the advance troops which occupied the ruins of Fort Duquesne on November 25, 1758, shortly after the French had burned the fort and retreated to Venango. This success virtually ended the war as far as Virginia was concerned. After four years of faithful service to both the colonies and the mother country, Colonel George Washington resigned his commission and returned to the pleasant and industrious life of his Virginia estates. Six weeks later, he married Mrs. Martha Dandridge Custis.

The experience and training which George Washington gained during the stirring years of the French and Indian War in western Pennsylvania were of inestimable value in later years when he led the armies of the United States in the War for Independence. He came out of the French and Indian War the most distinguished soldier in all the thirteen colonies. Acquaintance with many noted officers had been made, some of whom were to fight with him, some against him, in later days. He had seen the mistakes of others and had learned from them. He had demonstrated courage and resourcefulness, and faithfulness in carrying out every task assigned to him.

To many of us the French and Indian War seems lost in a dim past, obscured by the thrilling events of the Revolutionary War. Its significance as a struggle for liberty, as a conflict between the free principles of English institutions and the authoritarianism of the old French Regime, has been slighted, largely because the French King for reasons of self-interest helped us to win independence. Victory in the French and Indian War made possible the settlement of western Pennsylvania, and the western expansion of the American people. While the French threat still existed in the north, Americans could not think of severing their political ties with the mother country. The downfall of the French empire in America thus opened the way for American independence.

Replica of Washington's Fort Necessity, based on archeological findings and contemporary accounts, is located at Fort Necessity National Battlefield, near Farmington, Fayette County.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1969. Second edition. Text by Donald H. Kent; edited by Dr. S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

Ole Bull's New Norway

OLE Bornemann Bull, a popular violinist, ardent Norwegian and friend of America, purchased more than seventeen square miles of land in Pennsylvania's northern mountains in 1852 and set in motion his plan for a thriving colony of fellow Norwegians.

The confidence that he expressed in his venture inspired several hundred of his land-hungry countrymen to cross the Atlantic to farm, ply their trades and raise families among these mountains. The tract of land to which they came, but which most eventually departed, is a scenic woodland situated in the southeast corner of Potter County and is now, in large part, within the Susquehannock State forest. The sites of two of its settlements, New Norway and Valhalla, are in Ole Bull State Park.

Ole (prounced OH-lay) Bull was born in Norway in 1810, and as he grew, his awareness of the events and movements which were giving shape to the future of Europe grew also. In 1815, with Napoleon's conquests at an end, Europe's major powers, acting at the Congress of Vienna, reestablished and redrew the political boundaries of the continent. In the midst of these events a sense of national identity was growing.

Among its acts, the Congress confirmed the claim of the royal house of Sweden to sovereignty over Norway. Bull was a patriot and he deplored the Swedes' refusal to recognize Norway's independence, and responded to it by joining artists and writers in the "Young Norway" movement. Their purpose was to revive the culture of their people and free it from the influence of both Sweden and Denmark. Moreover, convinced that cultural independence could not flourish until political separation had been achieved, the youthful musician and his friends staged frequent demonstrations against the Swedish authorities.

Ole Bull's ambition to revitalize Norwegian arts led him to the founding in 1849 of the National Theater at Bergen, the town of his birth. Aided by a number of kindred spirits, he planned the theater for the staging of native drama and music and for the encouragement of Norwegian art. Bull's dream was ultimately disappointed, for within two years the theater closed. From it, however, emerged a playwright who was destined to achieve lasting fame, Henrik Ibsen, whom Bull had selected as a writer and stage manager. It has been surmised that Ibsen's most famous character, Peer Gynt, was created with Ole Bull as the model, for the characteristics of the two show a striking resemblance. As for music, Bull was not only a performer, he was also a composer, and among his works were several that expressed his great love of Norway.

The violinist was also an admirer of the United States and of its institutions. He had made a triumphant tour of this country from 1843 to

Ole Bull

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

1845, and had been enthusiastically acclaimed wherever he played. James Gordon Bennett was an admirer, using his newspaper, the *New York Herald,* to review with uncritical praise the genius of "the prince of violinists." Describing the effect of his first performance, the *Herald* exulted: "At the close of some of his wonderful cadences, the very musicians in the orchestra flung down their instruments and stamped and applauded like madmen." A few critics believed it was Bull's pyrotechnic style and dramatic manner that captivated the musically uninitiated, rather than his musical accomplishment.

Bull's admiration for his American audiences was as ardent as theirs for him. His itinerary included many of the towns and villages of the eastern United States as well as visits to Canada and Cuba. Everywhere he went he was warmly received, his sentimental nature responsive to the easy-going and democratic, if sometimes rough, manner of his New World admirers. The tour inspired his musical compositions "Niagara" and "Prairie Solitude," and the stay of several years produced an affection for America second only to the love which he had for his native Norway.

In 1852 he returned to America. He had dreamt of establishing a home in America where Norwegians, accustomed to a meager living from an unyielding soil, could prosper. After giving performances in New York and Montreal, he contacted a friend, John Hopper, who introduced him to John F. Cowan, a businessman from Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Cowan informed him of a large tract of land which he owned, having a topography reminiscent of Bull's homeland and situated along Kettle Creek near the southeast corner of Potter County, the heart of the so-called Black Forest. On May 24, 1853 (the year following that of the first settlement), John F. Cowan and his wife, Rosetta, deeded to Ole Bull eleven warrants of land in Potter County for $10,388. The deed also defined three "reservations," which due to the restrictions they imposed on the new colony, were to lead to its demise. The reservations withheld 658 acres from the sale, thereby reserving much of the tillable land to the original owners, a fact that Bull would not realize until later. The land area included in the deed was 11,144 acres.

The area of this vast acreage was for the most part unsettled. Huge stands of virgin timber,

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

This last surviving of the houses erected by settlers in Ole Bull's colony stood until very early in the twentieth century at the site of the settlement of New Bergen.

Norwegian Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments

Félicie Villeminot, first wife of Ole Bull, with their children (left to right) Alexander, Félicie, Lucie and Thorvald.

predominantly hemlock, covered the mountains. The only transportation system in the area was a stage line that traveled between Coudersport and Jersey Shore over the Jersey Shore and Coudersport Turnpike (Route 44). There had been some scattered lumbering of pine, but the lumbering boom was to develop after the colony's demise.

The settlement began September 7, 1852, when, as reported by the *People's Journal* of Coudersport, "thirty stalwart sons of Norway" arrived in Coudersport en route to Ole Bull's new Norway. On the seventeenth of the month, 105 more colonists stopped overnight on their journey to the settlement. The founder, who was to swear allegiance to the United States in October, gave a speech concerning the new colony and its hopes. He declared, "We are founding a New Norway consecrated to liberty, baptized with independence and protected by the Union's mighty flag." Both the colonists and the people of the county predicted a bright future for the colony and for the county. Most felt that because of Ole Bull's enterprise the whole area would prosper.

Trees at the colony site were cleared, not by chopping but by the practice of "grubbing," a procedure by which the trees were removed roots and all. This practice was too time-consuming and proved to be, like the colony itself, a mistake.

In June, 1853, the *New York Tribune* carried a story concerning a July 4 celebration to be held at Ole Bull's colony. According to the story, Bull planned and established four communities within his colony. One of these communities was New Bergen, at Carter Camp, twenty-four miles from Coudersport and eight miles from Cherry Springs. Another was Oleana, which the musician named for himself and for his mother, and which was located six miles south of New Bergen. One was New Norway, one mile south of Oleana; at this site sixteen to twenty log cabins and a schoolhouse had been erected. Finally, a short distance from New Norway was Valhalla, near which was the high point or shelf of mountain that Bull called "Nordjenskald," which provided the location for his "castle." In Norse mythology Valhalla, or Royal Hall, was the place of Odin, the god of poetry, who received military heroes after they were slain in battle.

The "castle" was described by a reporter from the *People's Journal* as "a two-story framed cottage, thirty-six by twenty feet. From it we had a view of all surrounding country and this seems to have been the object of its being built in that situa-

tion. A beautiful avenue leads to it through the forest and the visitor does not see it until he is beside it."

In 1853, with his castle uncompleted, Bull realized that his funds would soon be exhausted. Bull had given financial assistance to many of the Norwegians who came to make their homes in his colony, and it was time for him to go on tour again to earn more money. While away he repeatedly sent money to help the settlers in their struggle to survive. Only now did he realize that the reservations in the deed left him and the other colonists little but the steep hillside woodland. Much of the land that the colonists had improved turned out to be within the tract that the former owner had reserved for himself. Bull eventually despaired of the venture, and soon thereafter he sold back his holdings to John F. Cowan for the price that he had originally paid. Bull continued to help the few colonists who remained, but after a hard winter, most who were left moved to Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Ole Bull's "castle" was to meet as untimely an end as had the colony. It was sold at public sale to Dr. Edward Joerg, a German whom Ole Bull had persuaded to relinquish a medical practice in Illinois so that he could come to live in the colony. Dr. Joerg used the remains of the uncompleted castle to construct a home for himself, which he built on the eastern side of Kettle Creek south of the castle site. Dr. Joerg's home was called "The State House." It remained until 1923, when a fire reduced it to a gutted frame. It is on this site and foundation that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania constructed the forest foreman's residence in 1929. The house is still in use.

By 1857 Bull had returned to Norway, disillusioned by the failure of his colony. The next ten years of his life he would spend close to his home in Bergen. In 1836 he had married a Frenchwoman, Félicie Villeminot, who bore him five children and who died in 1862. During a trip to America in 1869, he met Sara Thorp, of Madison, Wisconsin, who became his second wife and the mother of a daughter. In 1872, Bull returned to Norway to his final home on the Island of Lysöen,

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Sara Thorp Bull in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she made her home for many years. Her brother Joseph was married to a daughter of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, a resident of Cambridge.

or island of light, a 650-acre island on the North Sea, from which Sara and he made periodic visits to the United States. Along the path to the castle site in Ole Bull State Park is Lyso Spring, a beautiful spring which is now covered.

Bull died of cancer in 1880, and was buried with great ceremony in his hometown, Bergen. His colony was long past, the lumber industry was on the verge of a boom, and soon all that would remain or remind one of Ole Bull's shattered dream, New Norway, would be the few colonists who had chosen to stay, the colony's cemetery, and Ole Bull State Park (established in 1920), which contains the site of the "castle" and 117 acres that are a haven for the outdoorsman and the lover of nature.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1988. Revised edition. Text by Norman B. Wilkinson, Robert K. Currin and Patrick A. Kennedy; edited by Harold L. Myers.

Henry Bouquet and Pennsylvania

From an original painting attributed to John Wollaston
Courtesy of Mrs. George A. Robbins.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of Pennsylvania on January 15, 1765, took time off from its quarrels with Governor and Proprietary, and forgot its usual distrust for things military, to vote an unanimous expression of grateful appreciation to a professional soldier, Henry Bouquet. They declared that his services in the French and Indian War and the Pontiac War, defeating the enemy, rescuing prisoners from Indian captivity, and preparing the way for peace, deserved "the grateful Tribute of Thanks from all good Men."

That Henry Bouquet had become a military hero to Pennsylvanians is one of history's ironies. This Swiss soldier of fortune, upon his first arrival in Philadelphia in 1756, had written, "I detest this cursed city," and had declared that Pennsylvanians were "the most detestable creatures ever produced by Nature, even the more odious for all that Corruption can add." His angry first impression of a weak government and insolent people is easy to explain, for a farmer had lashed at him with a whip as he rode into the city. This was the third such incident in which the common people of the Quaker province showed their active dislike and disrespect for anything associated with war, which many of them had crossed the ocean to avoid. Nothing in the background of this Swiss soldier equipped him to understand such unheard-of conduct. But he did learn to get along with Pennsylvanians. Of all the British commanders who served in America in colonial days, none seems to have made a better impression upon his contemporaries nor to have gained greater esteem than did Henry Bouquet, who became a British subject only by naturalization in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Henry Bouquet was born in 1719 to a respected and long-established family of Rolle in the Pays de Vaud, Switzerland. His grandfather Pierre Bouquet was a town official of Rolle, and proprietor and host of the Hotel de la Tete Noire, a hostelry which had belonged to the Bouquet family for a long time. Innkeepers had a respected position in Swiss towns, and the Bouquets were linked by marriage with the leading families of the region. When Henry was born to Isaac and Madeleine Rolaz Bouquet, it was not to a humble family, but to one of aristocratic connections. His mother was of the same noble family as the mother of Albert Gallatin, another Swiss who became famous in Pennsylvania.

Like many a Swiss youth in his day, he early began a military career, enlisting at the age of seventeen in one of the professional regiments which were hired by various European powers. Thus he served the Dutch Republic and later the King of Sardinia, under whom he won distinction

as first lieutenant and adjutant during the War of the Austrian Succession. The interesting letters which Bouquet wrote about his campaigns came to the attention of the Prince of Orange, head of the Dutch Republic, and led him to engage the young officer in his Swiss Guards as captain commanding with the rank of lieutenant colonel. At the Hague, the Dutch capital, Bouquet utilized his free time for a thorough study of military science, mathematics, and other branches of learning. His circle of intimate friends included the famous philologist Tiberius Hemsterhuis and the noted naturalist and physicist Jean Allamand. The cultured atmosphere of eighteenth-century Holland prepared him to find a congenial place in the intellectual and social life of the Philadelphia of Benjamin Franklin, William Smith, John Bartram, the Willings, and the Allens.

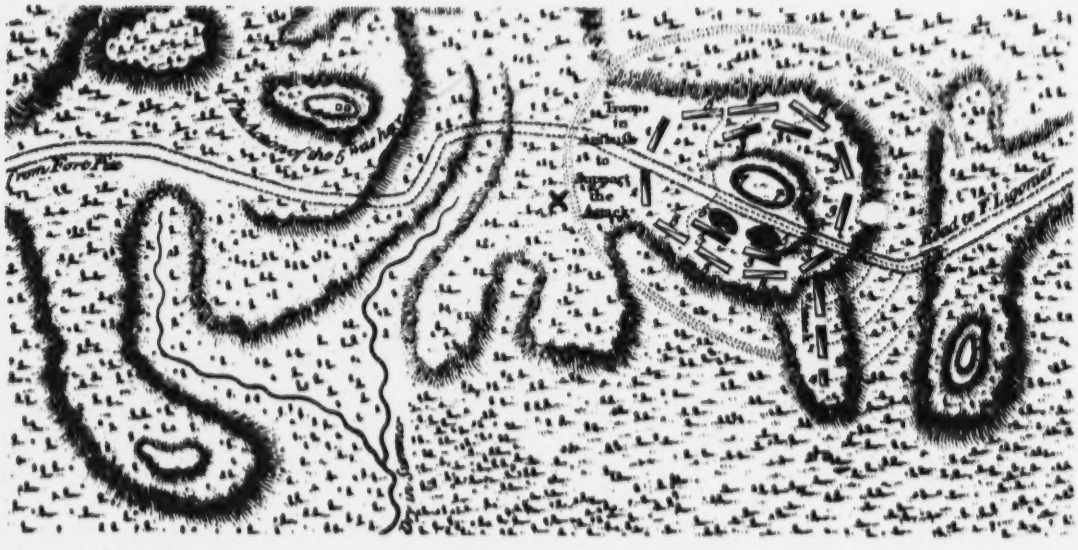
A scheme for the organization of a Royal American Regiment to fight in the French and Indian War brought Henry Bouquet to America. In 1753 and 1754 the French had occupied western Pennsylvania, and in 1755 they had defeated the British army of General Edward Braddock in its attempt to drive them out. The British government took steps to increase its forces in America and especially to make effective use of manpower in the middle colonies. Accordingly, they planned to engage trained officers in Europe who would recruit and command German-speaking soldiers in the colonies. Among the officers thus engaged were Henry Bouquet and his friend Frederick Haldimand; who —it is said—were among the first to be considered. They had hesitated, but were persuaded to accept commissions as lieutenant colonels, each to command a battalion of the new regiment.

Bouquet came to America in the spring of 1756 and had much success in recruiting men among the German settlers of Pennsylvania and Maryland, so that the Royal American Regiment became in large part a Pennsylvania German regiment. When he marched into Philadelphia on December 10, 1756, with 547 men and officers to be quartered there, he had much difficulty in finding shelter for them, and he longed for the arrival of a superior officer to relieve him "of political matters and of any business with the civil authorities." But he was to find that the problems were not insurmountable, and he must have handled matters much more tactfully than his irate letters would suggest, for good relations were maintained between the military and civil authorities.

In 1757 Colonel Bouquet was sent with a Royal American detachment to Charleston, South Carolina, where he strengthened and improved the defenses of the southern colony. In 1758, however, he was recalled to Pennsylvania. The plans of William Pitt and the British government had begun to take shape for an expedition to capture French Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio, the site of modern Pittsburgh. The Swiss military expert was made second in command under Brigadier General John Forbes in this campaign to drive the French from western Pennsylvania and the Ohio country.

General Forbes, however, was a sick man, suffering from a fatal illness which was to end his life a few months after his victorious campaign. Most of the actual supervision and attention to details in organizing and carrying on the campaign devolved on Bouquet, and no small part of its success was due to his executive ability, his care in training the men, and his patient but firm handling of the supply services. With inexperienced provincial officers and soldiers unaccustomed to military regulations, with teamsters and farmers resentful of any effort to make them help the government even in their own defense, he yet managed to form and supply an effective striking force. Through a wilderness crossed only by Indian paths, Bouquet directed the building of the great Forbes Road over the Allegheny Mountains. Along this line of communications from Carlisle to the Ohio, he supervised the construction of a chain of forts. There were temporary alarms and setbacks. On September 14, 1758, a detachment under Major James Grant, which had been sent to reconnoiter near Fort Duquesne, was drawn into battle and disastrously defeated; and on October 12 the French attacked Fort Ligonier, but were driven off after two hours of fighting. Careful preparations, nevertheless, built up a British force so overwhelming that when it made a final dash toward Fort Duquesne, the French abandoned and burned their stronghold. British advance troops occupied the ruined fort on November 24, 1758; and, two days later, General Forbes renamed it Pittsburgh in honor of the great British statesman.

After the successful campaign, Colonel Bouquet had the problem of digging in, fortifying, bringing supplies, and expanding the foothold on the Ohio country. In the summer of 1759 the French abandoned their forts in northwestern Pennsylvania, and in July, 1760, Bouquet led an army of five hundred men northward to build new British forts at Presque Isle (now Erie) and Le Boeuf (now



Plan of the Battle near Bushy Run, by Thomas Hutchins. The hollow oval (7) represents the "Flourbag fort" where the wounded were protected; the other ovals (5, 6) were the cattle and horses; and the rectangles mark the positions of the troops. X marks the spot from which the Indians attacked.

Waterford), while a smaller detachment under Major Robert Stewart built Fort Venango at present Franklin. Bouquet returned to Fort Pitt in November, with his reputation enhanced by this successful expedition.

The defeat of France did not end Britain's problems in America. Since the conquest of Canada and the Ohio country, the Indians had been growing more and more restive. In the spring of 1763 they broke the peace and attacked all the posts in the western country in what was called the Pontiac War, from the name of the Ottawa chief who besieged Detroit. Fort Pitt, Fort Niagara, and Detroit held out, but all the smaller posts between them were wiped out by the end of June. Fort Pitt was cut off from communication with the East, even though the posts along the Forbes Road held fast. Even around Carlisle, settlers were attacked by prowling bands of Indians.

As higher ranking officers had been withdrawn from Pennsylvania after 1761, Sir Jeffery Amherst, the British commander in chief, ordered Colonel Bouquet to gather all available British and provincial troops and go to the rescue of Fort Pitt. Bouquet set out from Carlisle in July with a force of some nine hundred men and hastened along the Forbes Road, encumbered by many packhorses carrying supplies. Near Bushy Run, a few miles north of present Jeannette, Westmoreland County, this little army was attacked and surrounded by a much large force of Indians on August 5 and 6.

In a two-day battle Bouquet showed his superior understanding of the methods of wilderness warfare. His letters reporting the battle have a strong hint that he realized the similarity between his situation and what Julius Caesar often faced with the Gauls, eighteen centuries earlier. On the second day of the battle, he pretended to have his men retreat, thus leading the Indians to break cover, and thereby inflicted a severe defeat. His phrases describing this action seem to echo the great Roman soldier:

> The Barbarians mistaking these motions for a retreat hurried headlong on, and Advancing upon us with the most Daring Intrepidity galled us Excessively with their heavy Fire; but at the very moment that certain of Success they thought themselves Masters of the Camp, Major Campbell at the head of the two first Companies Sallied out from a part of the Hill they could not observe and fell upon their right Flank, they resolutely return'd the fire, but could not stand the Irresistible Shock of our men, who rushing in among them Killed Many of them, and put the rest to Flight . . . .

The victory at Bushy Run effectively raised the siege of Fort Pitt and gave the first check to the

Indian uprising. Letters of congratulation poured in upon Bouquet, while he waited to see if the Indians would accept the consequences of defeat and make peace. Meanwhile, he gathered supplies and enlisted more men, and he had an additional redoubt or blockhouse built at Fort Pitt. This structure, still known by his name, is today the only surviving building of that great fort and the focus of the new Point Park in Pittsburgh.

On October 3, 1764, Colonel Henry Bouquet set out on the last important campaign of his career, to invade the home villages of the Indians along the Muskingum River in Ohio. His large force was made up of British regulars and American frontiersmen, many of the latter having been willing to volunteer and serve without pay on this expedition to crush the Indian menace in its very home. This shows how well Bouquet had learned to manage the independent folk of the back country. The army marched across country with a carefully planned line of march and with thorough precautions against surprise attacks, and its movement was swift and unimpeded. The troops encamped near the forks of the Muskingum and Tuscarawas rivers and awaited the Indian reaction to their presence. This was not long in coming. On October 17 Shawnee, Delaware, and Seneca delegates arrived to sue for peace, for which Bouquet insisted on one mandatory requirement before any discussions could be opened: they must deliver up all their white prisoners. His stern attitude brought results. Hundreds of captives—men, women, and children—were brought in to the new camp he established farther down the Muskingum. Then the Colonel became more friendly and told the Indians to send representatives to Sir William Johnson, the Indian superintendent, who had authority to make a final peace. Taking hostages as a guarantee of the Indians' good behavior, he returned to Fort Pitt.

In a month and a half, by a show of force and by hard-headed bargaining, the redoubtable Swiss soldier had finally reaped the results of his victory at Bushy Run. In this campaign without a battle, he gained more fame than in all his earlier campaigns and so captured the imagination of his contemporaries. Within less than a year his Muskingum campaign reached the pages of history, for William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, published his *Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians* in Philadelphia in 1765. The man who had once detested Pennsylvanians had become a Pennsylvania hero, winning the thanks of the Assembly. And he could now reply gracefully to the members that nothing, aside from the approbation of the King and his superiors, could give him greater "Pleasure than your favourable Opinion."

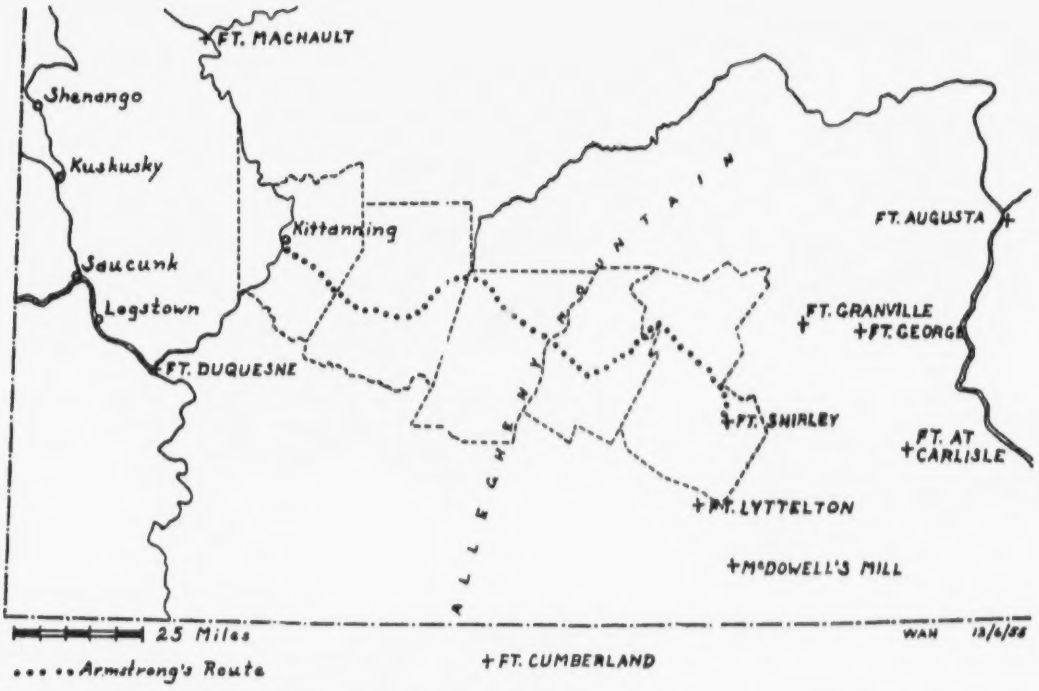
About the middle of April, 1765, news of his promotion to the rank of brigadier general arrived from London. The rule that no foreign-born person might attain such rank had been relaxed in his favor. But promotion carried with it new responsibilities. Garrisons in Florida, now within his area of command, required regulation and reorganization. He arrived there in August, caught yellow fever, and died at Pensacola on September 2, 1765, bringing his brilliant career to an untimely end.

Henry Bouquet was one of the major military figures of colonial American history, and the first important professional soldier in Pennsylvania history. His campaigns and his victory at Bushy Run were determining events in the historical development of the Ohio Valley. Had Bouquet not broken the Indian power at Bushy Run and on the Muskingum, the settlement of western Pennsylvania would have been delayed for many years, and the American patriots of Revolutionary days would have had no foothold beyond the mountains from which to establish a claim to the western territories. Such great things depended upon the energies and abilities of this Swiss soldier in the employ of Britain. With his brilliant generalship was combined a calm and competent steadiness in the administration of all the details which pertain to the functioning of an army. His unruffled demeanor in the face of reverses, his dignity and aristocratic bearing, awakened in the minds of the men who served under him a respect and loyalty like that shown to George Washington in later days.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1961.

Text by Donald H. Kent; edited by Dr. S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent.

The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more, the price is three cents each.



ARMSTRONG'S VICTORY AT KITTANNING

IN THE SPRING OF 1756 the French and Indian War became painfully real to Pennsylvanians living west of the Susquehanna. The first scattered Indian raids, in the fall of 1755, had been interrupted by winter, but now were resumed in earnest. Incited and aided by the French enemy, recently established in western Pennsylvania, Delaware and Shawnee Indians, under their leaders, Shingas and Captain Jacobs, swept down to burn, kill, and capture.

During the winter the Province had built and garrisoned four forts west of the Susquehanna: Fort George (Patterson's Fort), Fort Granville, Fort Shirley, and Fort Lyttelton. These were so widely spaced, however, that the Indians passed them by to attack the settlements behind the defense line. In spring additional garrisons were placed at McDowell's Mill and at Carlisle, within the settlements themselves, but the raids continued. Prisoners who escaped their Indian captors reported that the war parties had their headquarters at Kittanning, a settlement of Delaware Indians who had removed from eastern Pennsylvania, and a place known for thirty years to Pennsylvania traders who dealt with these Indians. Now, it was said, this place (whose Delaware name means "at the great river") held more than a hundred white captives.

The frontier attacks reached a climax on July 30, 1756, when a force of Indians headed by Captain Jacobs and supported by fifteen Frenchmen besieged Fort Granville and, having set fire to the place and killed the lieutenant then in command, forced the garrison to surrender. This destruction of a Provincial fort called for revenge and also for a reorganization of defenses for greater strength and better pro-

tection. The chief responsibility for these tasks lay upon Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, commander of the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, which garrisoned the forts west of the Susquehanna. Accordingly, with the approval of Governor Robert Hunter Morris, the officer drew up secret plans for an attack upon the Indians. Using information obtained from John Baker, an escaped prisoner, he prepared to march almost his entire battalion to Kittanning.

Marching by various routes, 300 men of Armstrong's six garrisons assembled at Fort Shirley, the most advanced of the forts; and on Monday, August 30, the main body of troops set out from this place, preceded by an advance party which they overtook at the Allegheny Mountain on Friday, September 3. The route they followed was the old one used by the Indian traders, running across present Huntingdon, Blair, Cambria, Indiana, and Armstrong counties to the Allegheny River a little below present Kittanning. By Monday, September 6, the expedition, still undiscovered by the Indians, reached a point in present Cambria County about 50 miles from Kittanning. From this place scouts went forward to reconnoiter. Upon their return, the next day, the troops stored their supplies on scaffolds, and set out on an unbroken march, continuing into the night of September 7, to Kittanning.

Several miles southeast of Kittanning, Armstrong's scouts discovered a fire, with a few Indians visible around it. Not daring to attack this party for fear of alarming the town, Armstrong assigned Lieutenant James Hogg and twelve men to watch these Indians and to attack them at daybreak. The main body of troops moved on through the darkness. Not far away—traditionally, at a place now called Blanket Hill—the men left their horses, blankets, and other baggage, and turned from the path to make a detour through the woods. The setting moon lighted the head of the column to the river, within a quarter-mile of the lower end of the Indian town.

Weary from a thirty-mile march, the soldiers slept briefly, until daybreak. Then the last companies in the column, who had not yet descended the steep hill east of the town, were ordered to march northward along this hill, to outflank the main Indian settlement. About twenty minutes later, Armstrong ordered the attack to begin. Led by their captains, the soldiers advanced into the lower part of the town, from which many of the Indians fled.

Captain Jacobs and some others stood their ground, however. Aided by a French officer, De Normanville, who had arrived the day before with a few men, the Indians rallied and resisted vigorously. Armstrong, Captain Mercer (commander at Fort Shirley), and an ensign were wounded, and several of their men were wounded or killed. The Indians had the protection of their log cabins; but Captain Jacobs' house was set on fire, and he, his wife, and his son were shot down as they fled. Then other houses burned, and a store of powder blew up. But the flanking party had been unable to cut off the Indians' retreat, and enemy reinforcements were seen crossing the river from Shingas' settlement on the west bank. Accordingly, after his men had taken fourteen scalps and recovered eleven white prisoners from the town, Armstrong ordered his troops to retire.

Meantime, Lieutenant Hogg and his men had attacked the Indians at the campfire, only to find themselves facing an equal number of the enemy. The lieutenant and five of his men were killed, two others were wounded, and the rest escaped when the Indians became alarmed by the noise of the attack at the town. Then, in the general retreat, Captain Mercer and a dozen of his men, mostly former Indian traders, decided to take a different way home, fell in with Hogg's beaten men, and became badly scattered.

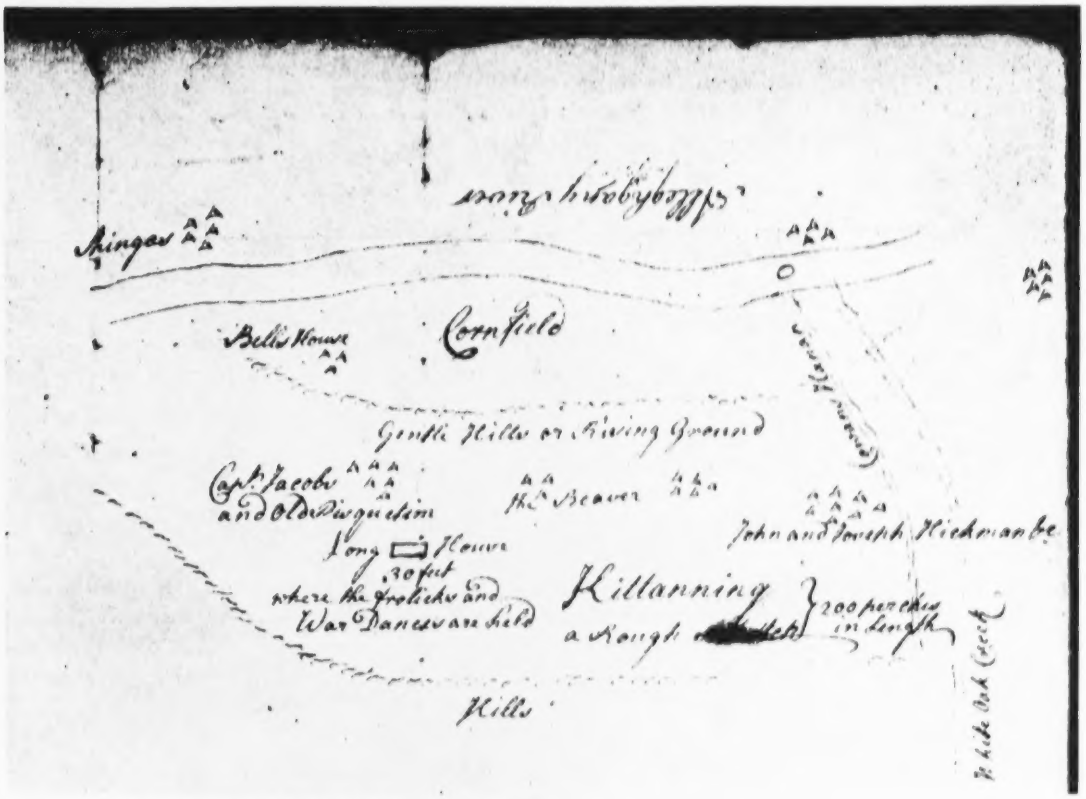
The main body of troops, with Armstrong, retreated by the road they had come. Unencumbered by their blankets, which they had left behind, they traveled rapidly and were unmolested by any pursuers. Fort Shirley had been evacuated, its gates removed when the expedition set out; so the returning troops made their way to Fort Lyttelton, arriving there on Sunday, September 12.

Two days later, when Armstrong drew up his report to the Governor, he computed his losses at 17 men killed, 13 wounded, and 19 (including Captain Mercer) missing. Also missing were four of the eleven liberated prisoners. Among the dead was John Baker, the former captive, Armstrong's "best assistant," who had volunteered to guide the expedition. Of the missing soldiers, three arrived at Fort Cumberland, Maryland, on September 17, one at Fort Augusta (present Sunbury) on the 19th, and the wounded Captain Mercer at Fort Lyttelton on September 22. One man, who turned back at the Allegheny Mountain to get his lost coat, was pursued and killed by Indians; and a man and a woman of the escaped white prisoners were taken by the Indians and tortured to death

at Kittanning. Armstrong thought that thirty or forty Indians had been killed, but the Indians themselves reported their losses as seven men and two women. The Indian account probably was nearer correct, though it apparently included only adults.

The raid carried out by Armstrong's battalion was too expensive and risky to be repeated, and even with the advantage of surprise the attackers probably suffered greater losses than the enemy. The Province attempted no more such attacks, but instead drew back from Fort George, Fort Granville, and Fort Shirley to a defense line running from Carlisle to Fort Lyttelton.

Nevertheless, Armstrong's attack was of real benefit to Pennsylvania, not only through its bracing effect on the spirits of the settlers but also through the setback it inflicted on the Indians, one out of all proportion to their actual losses. The Delawares abandoned their settlements at Kittanning, retiring from them to the shelter of the French forts and to less exposed towns on the Beaver River and farther west. Shingas, for whose head large rewards had been offered at Philadelphia and in Virginia, had escaped, but his Indian followers suffered such loss of confidence in their own power and in their French allies that the vigor and boldness of their earlier attacks was thereafter lacking.



Courtesy of American Philosophical Society

THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT AT KITTANNING

This map, drawn by Armstrong, is part of his written proposal for the expedition. The west side of the map, with the river, is at the top. Based on John Baker's information, the map shows the Long House, "where the frolicks and War Dances are held," and the homes of the leading Indians: Shingas (across the river), Captain Jacobs and Shingas' oldest brother, Pisquetim, and his other brothers, the Beaver and Hickman. Armstrong's men attacked from a point near the left edge of this map.

On October 5 the Philadelphia City Council gave Armstrong a vote of thanks and set aside 150 pounds for appropriate gifts to him and his officers. Rewards equal to those for Shingas had been offered for Captain Jacobs. On October 30 the Provincial Commissioners paid Armstrong 272 pounds for Indian scalps and returned prisoners; and on January 5, 1757, the Philadelphia Council sent him its present of plate and medals. Years afterward, when John Armstrong received a grant of land at Kittanning, the name he gave the tract was both appropriate and deserved: "Victory."

Courtesy of Pennsylvania State Museum

THE KITTANNING MEDAL

Obverse, Philadelphia coat of arms: THE GIFT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. Reverse, Attack on Kittanning: KITTANNING DESTROYED BY COL. ARMSTRONG. SEPTEMBER 8, 1756. (The portrayal of the attack is reversed; Armstrong's men, advancing on the town from the south, actually had the river on their left.)

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1962. Text by William A. Hunter; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.

The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more, the price is three cents each.

Benjamin Franklin

THOUGH most men devote their years to one principal vocation, Benjamin Franklin made notable achievements in several careers. Men have described him as amazing, ingenious, universal — a many-sided man whose inquiring mind turned with zest to the contemplation of his age and its people.

His life nearly spanned his century. It epitomized the ideals of the Enlightenment — humanist in approach, versatile in range, passionate for self-improvement, and practical in the uses of knowledge. During his eighty-four years, from 1706 to 1790, he was printer, publisher, inventor, scientist, educator, colonial agent, politician, statesman, militia colonel, postmaster-general, diplomat, and peacemaker. In all these pursuits, in a century marked by far-reaching intellectual and political changes, Franklin achieved eminence as "a great and wise man moving through great and troubling times."

Courtesy Library Company of Philadelphia

Benjamin Franklin, by David Martin, painted in 1766, copied by the nineteenth-century artist James Reid Lambdin.

Philadelphia claims Franklin as its most illustrious son, even though he moved there from Boston, his birthplace, at the age of seventeen. His education and training consisted of two years of formal schooling, two years as an apprentice to his father in the tallow and soap business, and five years learning the printing trade with his older brother James.

Disagreements with James persuaded Franklin to leave Boston and find employment as a journeyman printer in another port city. With slim resources, he arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1723, and was soon at work in the print shop of Samuel Keimer. Impressed by the youthful printer's writing talent, Pennsylvania's Governor Sir William Keith promised to make him official printer of the colony if he would establish his own business. Franklin journeyed to England to purchase presses and type for his shop. But support from the erratic governor was not forthcoming, and the disappointed young man, stranded in London, worked for several printers in that city before returning to America.

Back in Philadelphia he again worked for Keimer. Then in 1730 he began his own print shop. Shortly he took on the publication of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a paper founded two years earlier by his former employer. Following this he was made official printer to the colony. His reputation as a rustic philosopher grew out of the homely humor and instructive maxims that appeared in his *Poor Richard's Almanack*, published annually for twenty-five years. To his readers Franklin offered such proverbial homilies as the following:

Poverty wants some things, luxury many things, avarice all things.

Wealth is not his that has it, but his that enjoys it.

Fish and visitors smell in three days.

Three may keep a secret if two of them are dead.

He's a fool that makes his doctor his heir.

Franklin enjoyed and stimulated good conversation among congenial associates in the "Junto," a debating club he had organized while working for Keimer. He became an "up and coming" young man in public affairs, busily engaged in promoting civic improvements. Largely at his instigation Philadelphia's streets were paved, cleaned, and better illuminated. Fire companies were organized, a fire insurance company begun, the police system improved, and the first circulating library in the country established. His keen desire to further scientific knowledge led to the founding of the American Philosophical Society, today one of the world's most respected learned societies. Franklin's talents as a promoter were used by his friend Dr. Thomas Bond in raising funds to build Philadelphia's first hospital, the Pennsylvania Hospital. Through the *Gazette* and, as he confesses, by "political manoeuvers" and "some use of cunning," the Pennsylvania Assembly and the public were persuaded to contribute more than the £4,000 (pounds) needed to finance the project.

Franklin believed the schools of his time had outlived their usefulness. Training centered mainly upon the classical languages, rhetoric, theology, philosophy, and physics. To his mind this was too narrow a curriculum. His views advocating a more practical education were printed in *Proposals Relative to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania.* His suggestions took root, and from them blossomed the Academy for the Education of Youth, parent of first the College of Philadelphia and then the University of Pennsylvania.

The probing mind of Franklin was challenged by the phenomena of nature for which there were no rational explanations. The many public trusts he filled up to the time of the Revolution make one wonder where he found the leisure to give to scientific speculation and experimenting. From 1736 to 1751 he was clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and then a member of that body from 1751 to 1764. In the same period he was made deputy postmaster at Philadelphia, and then designated a deputy postmaster-general for all the colonies from 1753 to 1774. He attended conferences with the Indians, printed the treaties made with them, and when some took to the warpath as allies of the French in the 1750's, he was one of the commissioners charged with raising troops and building fortifications along the frontier line of the Blue Mountains. The first specific plan for uniting the colonies for mutual protection and improved government was proposed by Franklin at an intercolonial conference in Albany, New York, in 1754.

The busiest people always find time to do more. So it was with Franklin. Amid all his official chores, the cares of a growing family, and the good works he sponsored, his inquiring mind constantly sought answers to the unknowns of the natural world. In his *Gazette* questions were raised and observations made about thunderstorms, earthquakes, climatic changes, rock formations, and natural springs. His inventiveness in 1744 produced the "Pennsylvania Fireplace," or Franklin stove, a comfortable improvement over the open fireplace. When failing eyesight handicapped him forty years later, he ingeniously devised bifocal lenses for his spectacles. And the first expedition of Americans sent to explore the Arctic in search of the Northwest Passage in 1753 was undertaken largely at Franklin's urging and with his aid.

The most prized possession of Philadelphia's Franklin Institute is the "electric tube" with which Franklin conducted his experiments in the mystifying phenomenon of electricity. He deduced principles basic to the understanding of such aspects of electricity as positive and negative current, conduction, and condensers. He rigged up an electric battery, and he demonstrated that lightning was a form of electricity with his well-known kite and key experiment. This last reinforced the theories which had led him to the invention of the lightning rod. These were momentous findings and received a great deal of attention in America and Europe. He had become Doctor Franklin, savant.

Anticipating advances in medicine, Franklin urged the acceptance of smallpox inoculation; he diagnosed the causes of lead poisoning common among printers; he advised cleanliness, exercise, proper diet, and fresh air as the best treatment for colds; and he invented one or more medical instruments. One of the earlier books printed on his

press was entitled *Every Man His Own Doctor*, a best seller.

The closing third of Franklin's life allowed even less opportunity to theorize and experiment with his real love, science. From the 1760's to 1790 he was in the service of Pennsylvania and the new-born United States. Great Britain's House

Courtesy American Philosophical Society

Portrait of Deborah (Mrs. Benjamin) Franklin, a copy attributed to Benjamin Wilson (ca. 1759).

of Commons listened carefully to his calm and masterly opposition to the Stamp Tax imposed upon the colonists. As this and other causes of friction mounted between Mother Country and America, he worked diligently to conciliate the two sides and to prevent disruption of the empire. Franklin's perennial verve cropped up in a prickling satire published in London entitled *Rules by Which a Great Empire May be Reduced to a Small One.* He remained in England using his talent for diplomacy and his influence to preserve the union, but by the spring of 1775 he knew it was of no avail. He was midway across the Atlantic when the shooting began at Lexington and Concord.

Franklin became the elder statesman of the Revolution. Though now approaching seventy, he submitted to the demands made upon him with these words, "I am but a fag end, and you may have me for what you please." In the turbulent preparation and first stages of the struggle, he became a member of the Continental Congress, was first postmaster-general, sketched a plan of union for the colonies, tried to persuade the Canadians to join the Americans, gave advice on defenses, and considered proposals of peace. He was one of five men chosen to write the Declaration of Independence, though the composition was largely that of Thomas Jefferson. Franklin gave wise counsel to agents sent abroad to obtain arms and assistance. Late in 1776 Congress sent him back across the Atlantic with Arthur Lee, this time to win France as an ally.

Franklin, the universal man, simple in dress, modest in manner, benign, witty, and charming in conversation, captured the affection of the French from the sophisticate of the salon to the peasant. Two earlier visits, his voluminous correspondence, and kindred concerns in science had already fashioned a circle of friends in Paris and other parts of *La Belle France.* His writings, his scientific achievements, his easy and unpretentious *savoir faire* made him the natural *philosophe* — the symbol of the Age of Enlightenment.

Patiently, effectively, he cultivated official and popular support for the American struggle for freedom. The alliance with France, without which our independence was in doubt, climaxed Franklin's labors in February, 1778. He remained at Passy, near Paris, handling details of the alliance, but also finding time to enjoy the companionship of social and intellectual luminaries and to write on scientific subjects. It is to the shrewd "Poor Richard" that America is indebted for the very favorable terms of the peace treaty ending the war with England in September, 1783, the consequence of two years of intricate diplomatic negotiations.

Upon his triumphal return to Philadelphia in 1785 he became president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, an executive body which replaced the office of governor under the State constitution of 1776. When the Consti-

tutional Convention met in 1787 to create a new form of government for the United States, Franklin was one of the most active delegates urging a new constitution. The genial old philosopher was the balance wheel in this assembly of clashing opinion and self-interest. His was the unofficial role of adjuster and compromiser, the brake on violent tongue, the gentle conciliator of opposing views, and, with Washington, leader in the search for unity.

This was Franklin's last great service to his country. Ill health had prevented him from attending the convention regularly, and a number of his speeches had been delivered by James Wilson, another Pennsylvania delegate. Now past eighty, his once splendid physique was beset with the infirmities of age. His few remaining years were passed pleasantly in the company of old friends who called at his home near Fourth and Market streets. Hours were spent at cards and cribbage, revising manuscripts, working on his *Autobiography*, and maintaining the exchange of letters begun early in life. Mind and pen were free from senility to the very end.

Franklin departed upon "the long mysterious Exodus of death" on April 17, 1790. A mourning city followed his cortege to the burial ground of Christ Church, where he was laid to rest beside his wife Deborah under a simple headstone. The many societies and institutions, civic, educational, scholarly, and fraternal, that he had founded, presided over, and aided, paid him homage. City and State officials, legislators, and judges marched to the sound of muffled bells past the State House (Independence Hall), shrine of the liberty he had done so much to ensure. Eulogies were offered in Congress and before the French National Assembly. Men of science of several continents took solemn note of the loss of a brilliant and penetrating mind. The presence of a warm and witty friend had gone from the world of letters.

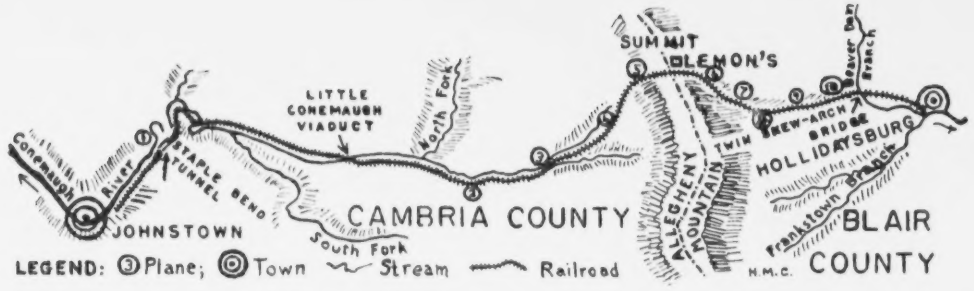
"No other town," says Carl Von Doren, "burying its great man, ever buried more of itself than Philadelphia with Franklin." Yet after a century and a half he remains Philadelphia's first citizen.

Courtesy Independence National Historical Park

Franklin built this home in Philadelphia a block from the State House (now called Independence Hall) in 1766, then enlarged it on the left in 1786. Nothing remains but remnants of the cellar, which has been the object of archeological investigation. This sketch was based on available documentation.

Walk through the heart of the old city. Visit its first hospital, its first learned society, its first library, and the site of its first college. Wander through the Independence Square neighborhood and bring to memory the events that gave birth to the United States. These are the memorials to his diligent toil and creative genius. Note the name of Franklin on schools, street, parkway, bridge, fire company, hotel, club, and institute. Such are the tributes to this most versatile man who "moved through his world in a humorous mastery of it." Memorials and tributes cast but faint reflection of one so endowed with inquiring mind, creative talent, patient humility, practical wisdom, capacity for friendship, and passion to improve himself and his fellow men. Of the writing of books and articles about him there is no end, for Benjamin Franklin was a man beyond ordinary dimensions.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1970. Second edition. Text by Norman B. Wilkinson; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more, the price is three cents each.



The Allegheny Portage Railroad

THE Allegheny Portage Railroad, which began its steep climb of Allegheny Mountain a little westwards of Hollidaysburg, an old town four miles south of modern Altoona, and then descended on the western slope to Johnstown, was a great technological feat. It capped the joint endeavors of a number of versatile engineers serving under the Pennsylvania Board of Canal Commissioners. Both in conception and execution it was a triumph of engineering. In operation, it was for nearly two full decades the most efficient method of transporting the manufactures of western Pennsylvania eastwards across the mountain barrier, and in the opposite direction, the imports and products of Philadelphia to the warehouses and market places of Pittsburgh.

This railroad was not a link in the great rail network that now binds all parts of our land together, but rather a link in Pennsylvania's waterways. Like the Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad it was a division on the Pennsylvania Canal's Main Line, which ran from the great city on the Delaware to the great city at the Forks of the Ohio. It connected the Juniata Division at Hollidaysburg with the Western Division of the Canal at Johnstown. (See *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 1,* "The Pennsylvania Canals.")

It was operated at the expense of the people of Pennsylvania, and notably to their advantage. Every mile of its length between Hollidaysburg and Johnstown was as busy as a beehive. On its levels moved heavy-laden boxcars, diminutive passenger coaches, entire smaller canalboats, and sectionalized longer canalboats. On its planes, ropes drew up or let down coaches and boats, all gliding on rollers set halfway between the tracks. Hitchers busily hitched their burdens to ropes, or unhitched them to be drawn once more on a level by horses or steam locomotives. Every one of the ten planes of the Portage hummed with activity. There were wood or coal stations near at hand, with firemen to stoke engines, stationary or locomotive, and engineers to man either type. Water carriers were in constant service. Car agents, often called State Agents, directed passengers and freight and collected tolls. Their Superintendent, in his office at the Summit, bore responsibility for the whole railroad. Supervisors, with foremen and laborers, saw to the problems of maintenance. In the two State shops at Hollidaysburg and Johnstown, blacksmiths, blowers and strikers, machinists, and finishers industriously forged or repaired, made or finished engine and track parts.

Early thought of a railroad across the mountain to connect canals built to its east and west foothills had occurred to Postmaster John Blair of Blair's Gap in the spring of 1824. That summer and autumn three Canal Commissioners, two years before the Commonwealth decided to build the great canal, explored a route for it across the southeastern counties of the State, up the Susquehanna River to the Juniata, along the Juniata to Allegheny Mountain, across that barrier and onwards from it by way of the Conemaugh, Kiskiminetas, and Allegheny rivers towards Pittsburgh. In 1826 the General Assembly voted to have the Pennsylvania Canal constructed, and during the next few years many surveys were made of possible routes by which the mountain barrier might be surmounted.

In December, 1828, when the building of the Eastern, the Juniata, and the Western divisions was already in progress under the supervision of the Canal Board, Moncure Robinson was engaged to make a new survey of Allegheny

Mountain and to plan a railroad over the divide. But the Board, willing though they were to accept Robinson's proposal of five planes on the east and five on the west slopes of the mountain, did not approve his idea of a mile-long tunnel; and in 1830 they engaged the famous Stephen Harriman Long to make further explorations.

The Robinson plan was adopted in 1831, with modifications by Colonel Long and Major John Wilson, the South Carolina engineer who surveyed and began the Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad. The first contracts were made in May. The Allegheny Portage was now to have a thirty-six-mile route, ten planes with ten stationary engines at their crests, a stone viaduct across the Little Conemaugh, a 900-foot tunnel, a skew-arch bridge of two spans, other minor bridges, and eleven levels. It would ascend 1,398 feet above the eastern basin of the canal at Hollidaysburg, or 1,171 feet above the western basin at Johnstown.

The railroad took three years to build under the general direction of President James Clarke of the Canal Board and the immediate superintendency of Samuel Jones. The engineer in charge was Sylvester Welch, an expert who had done his early surveying along the Erie Canal in New York and had had further experience on the Union and Lehigh canals in Pennsylvania.

Forests of spruce and hemlock, oak, and white pine were cut through. Two oblique arches of cut stone rose into a stout and beautiful bridge crossing the Beaver Dam Branch of the Juniata at Hollidaysburg. The lofty single span of stone over the Little Conemaugh rose to its full height of eighty feet in 1833, eight miles east of Johnstown. West of it and four miles nearer to that town, Staple Bend Tunnel was finished the same year with a sixteen-foot bore through solid rock, facings of cut stone at its ends, and most of its 900-foot length naturally arched. Like the viaduct, it challenged the admiration of the public "for boldness of design and strength and beauty of execution."

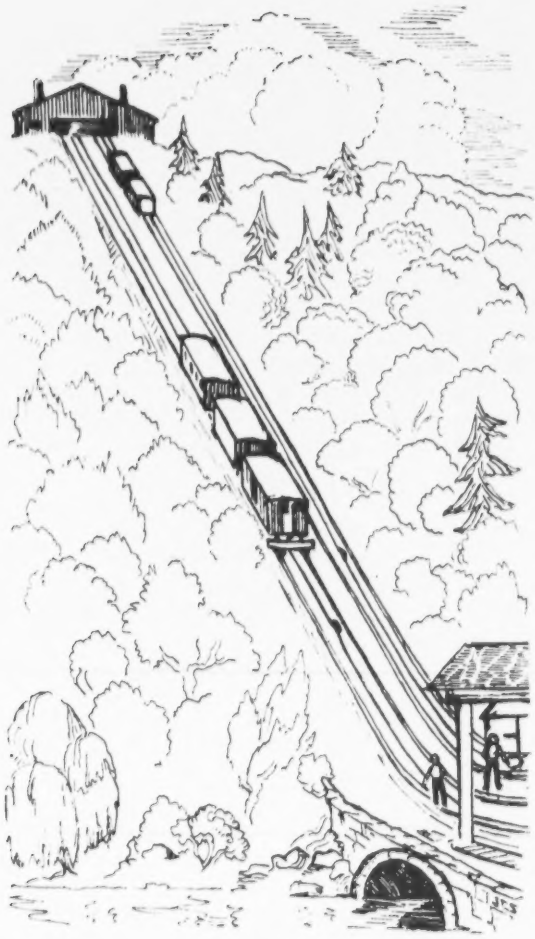
Tracks were laid on the ten planes and eleven levels. Iron rails imported from England or made by Pennsylvania forges were superimposed on wooden sills laid on stone sleepers, early predecessors of our modern embedded crossties. Sheds were built with foundations of masonry to shelter and support stationary engines and cable sheaves.

Locomotive engines were ordered, but the first one did not arrive until 1834 at the close of the first season of operations. This was the "Boston," from the Mill Dam Foundry in Massachusetts, which was brought by sea to Philadelphia and then from that city by the Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad and the new Pennsylvania Canal to Johnstown. The second and third locomotives, the "Delaware" and the "Allegheny," came the next year from New Castle, Delaware, only to find themselves quite outclassed by the "Boston," which was making four trips a day back and forth on the thirteen-mile level between Planes 1 and 2, east of Johnstown, a total distance of fifty-two miles at the rate of ten miles an hour. The fourth, the "Pittsburgh," built by McClurg, Wade and Company of Pittsburgh on the model of the "Boston," came at the close of the 1835 season.

Hemp ropes three-and-a-half inches in diameter and 2,960 to 6,234 feet long were put into use on the planes, drawing up or lowering burdens at angles of inclination from 3 degrees, 60 minutes on Plane No. 9 to 5 degrees, 40 minutes on Plane No. 8. The aggregate length of the great cables was 11 miles and 778 yards, and they weighed 118,649 pounds, some fifty-nine tons.

The Allegheny Portage went into full-length service—but without locomotive engines—in the early spring of 1834. As the ice and snow, which blocked much of the mountain in February, melted into the thaws of March, craft began appearing on the Western Division canal basin in Johnstown—on the 14th, the line boat "Dewitt Clinton" laden with bacon, on the 15th, a second boat, and on the next two days a number of scows bearing on their decks some thirty railroad cars. The official opening was on March 18; and traffic set in for a season which lasted until winter forced the annual closing of the Pennsylvania Canal from December to March. For twenty years after that, the railroad and its planes continued in service.

But every year was a year of change: in one year, more stationary engines came from Pennsylvania foundries like Smith and Minis, Sinton Rogers, Warden and Benney, or McClurg, Wade and Company; in another year more locomotives, like the "Bush Hill" and "George Washington" built by William Norris of Phila-



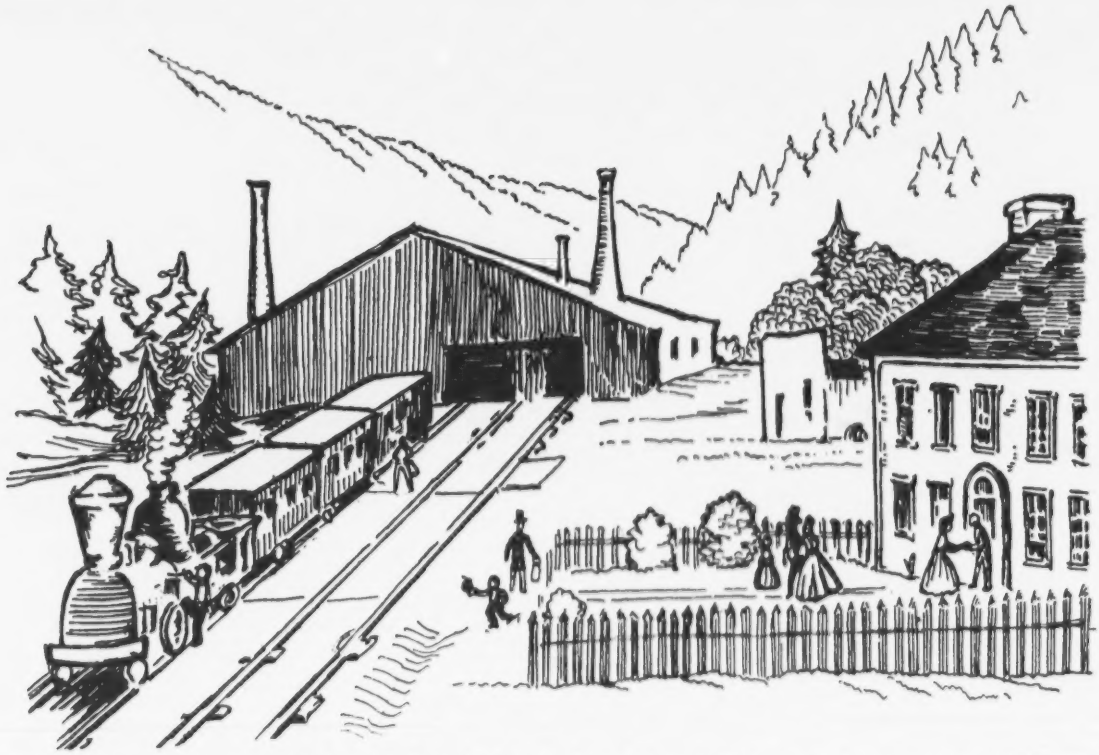
Plane No. 8.

delphia or the "Backwoodsman" and "Mountaineer" manufactured by McClurg, Wade and Company. New tracks were laid until every level had a second track. New types of rail, edge-rail succeeding bar-rail, came into use, fastened now by "chairs" to new types of sleepers. New dimensions in cars came, new models in boats and coaches, as forwarding companies who owned most of them tried to adapt their modes of shipment to the facilities of the Portage and provide for greater comfort of passengers. As traffic throve, firms of forwarders became numerous: the Baltimore Line, the Pennsylvania Packet Boat Company, the United States Portable Boat Line, the Reliance Portable Boat Line.

To John Dougherty, chief promoter of the Reliance Line, came an inspiration one day. He beheld Jesse Christman arriving from Lackawanna Creek on the North Branch Division, offering his boat for sale at the Hollidaysburg canal basin, and finding no purchaser. He learned that Christman wanted to get on west, he noted the fairly small size of the unsalable boat, and he suggested that the boat be hauled by rail over the Portage. Captain Christman agreed, and boat, family, and all were drawn out of the basin, loaded on a truck, hauled up and lowered down on the planes, and finally slipped into the canal basin at Johnstown for further towing on the Western Division. The scheme proved successful, and not long afterwards John Dougherty invented a portable boat for similar handling. He created the section boat, patented it, and by 1842 had the sanction of the Canal Board for the carriage of such craft, or paired parts of a craft, on the Portage.

Scenes at both Hollidaysburg and Johnstown changed. The spectacle of boats being dragged from the basins or lowered back into them became common. Ropes of a new size came into use as old ones rotted and snapped at the boat inclines. Captain Thomas Young, owner of the most used boat incline at Johnstown, needed a stouter rope; John A. Roebling, German emigrant, naturalized American, had been wanting to try out a scheme for making and using wire rope, and this was his chance to do it. Roebling set up a ropewalk on his Saxonburg, Butler County, farm. He bought wire from Pittsburgh, produced a 600-foot wire rope of an approximately one-inch diameter, and installed it at the Captain Young's Johnstown boat slip.

That was a beginning, and out of it grew a greater change. In the next eight years Roebling's wire ropes of diameters from 1¼ to 1⅝ inches and gigantic lengths up to 6,400 feet went into use on all the planes of the Portage. Most of the time they went into entirely successful use, supplanting hemp that decayed all too early and broke all too often. But they were costly. Their weight often made it necessary to rebuild foundations at stationary engine sheds. Nor did they produce immediate acclaim for the engineer who later would command world-wide admiration for the use of wire rope in building and designing suspension bridges at Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Brooklyn. Roebling exemplified his unique genius first on the Allegheny Portage



The stationary engine house at the summit level, and the Lemon Inn, built by Samuel Lemon before 1830. Passengers are coming out of this wayside tavern to take the train for Johnstown.

in solving the difficult problems of its ropes.

But those were problems on planes, and planes were but a passing device in railway history. In 1839-1840 the State of Pennsylvania had engineers study new routes for getting a great railroad over Allegheny Mountain without the use of planes, and in the early 1850's the State spent vast sums on the erection of a New Portage which would eliminate them. But the New Portage was not finished before the incorporated Pennsylvania Railroad Company completed its route across the mountain in 1854. The era of modern railroad building had come everywhere in the United States, and new facilities were superseding earlier ones. The Commonwealth found itself unable to compete successfully with these chartered companies. In 1857 it sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad the Main Line of its Public Works from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, including the Old and the New Portage; and service on both of these was finally abandoned.

The Old Portage Railroad cost the Commonwealth $1,828,461.38; the New Portage cost it $2,143,335.49. Together by the end of 1853 they had produced for it a revenue of $3,502,407.84, not quite seven-eighths of the total investment. They have never been regarded as enriching the State's coffers. But it is neither pleasant nor wise to count only material cost or gain to an official treasury. The Allegheny Portage Railroad connected East and West for twenty years of prosperity, bringing great wealth in trade and manufacture to the people and contributing its full share to the economic development of the Commonwealth.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1974. Text by Dr. Hubertis Cummings; sketches by Julia Smith McMillan; edited by Drs. S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent.

Abraham Lincoln and Pennsylvania

RISING to his feet near the close of a long program featuring a two-hour address by Edward Everett, Abraham Lincoln spoke "a few appropriate remarks" at ceremonies dedicating the national cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1863. Thus inconspicuously did Pennsylvania, which had been the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, furnish the stage for the third of our nation's three greatest documents.

It is through the Gettysburg Address that Lincoln is most closely associated with Pennsylvania, but there are a number of other ways in which the great Civil War President had close ties with the Commonwealth founded by William Penn.

Like hundreds of thousands of his fellow citizens of the middle western states, Lincoln's ancestors had lived in Pennsylvania, had moved southward through the Great Valley into Virginia, had passed through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, and then had moved across the Ohio River into the Old Northwest. His people were a part of the tide of settlement which pushed the frontier westward, redeeming the land from the forest and building the new states of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.

Lincoln's knowledge of his Pennsylvania ancestry was exceedingly vague. In a brief biographical sketch prepared for Jesse Fell in December, 1859, he wrote: "My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, where a year or two later he was killed by Indians, not in battle, but by stealth. . . . His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks County, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New-England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite, than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like."

Later research has established the New England connections which Lincoln was unable to make. Mordecai Lincoln, his great-great-grandfather, came to Pennsylvania with his brother Abraham in 1720. Sons of Mordecai Lincoln of Scituate, Massachusetts, the two brothers had come to New Jersey before 1714 and settled at or near Middletown. Here Mordecai was married to Hannah Salter of Freehold. When he moved to Pennsylvania in 1720, he settled in Chester County, becoming a partner of Samuel Nutt, Sr., and William Bransom in the operation of Coventry Forge on French Creek, one of the earliest iron enterprises in Pennsylvania. He sold his interest in the forge for five hundred pounds in 1726, and after a brief return to New Jersey took up residence in Amity (now Exeter) Township in present Berks County as early as 1728.

His first wife having died about 1727, he was married in 1729 to Mary Robeson and in the same year leased a thousand-acre farm in present Exeter Township, which he later bought. On this tract, not far from Birdsboro, stands a one-and-a-half-story stone structure, comprising two sections built at different times. According to local tradition, the older portion was built by Mordecai Lincoln in 1733, but documentary proof of this tradition is lacking. Curiously enough, the Mordecai Lincoln farm in Pennsylvania lies only four miles from the Daniel Boone Homestead, from whence Daniel and

The Lincoln Homestead in Berks County

his father Squire migrated to North Carolina in 1750.

Relations between these two famous Pennsylvania families must have been close since both took an active part in public affairs; Mordecai Lincoln serving as a commissioner for defense against the Indians in 1728, as a justice of the peace, and as an inspector of roads. Abraham Lincoln, youngest son of Mordecai and Mary (Robeson) Lincoln, married Anne Boone, first cousin of Daniel Boone. This marriage, incidentally, provides proof that the Pennsylvania Lincolns were not Quakers, since the Exeter Friends Meeting censured Anne Boone, a Quaker, for marrying "out of meeting." This Abraham Lincoln was born after his father's death in 1736.

Mordecai Lincoln's oldest son John, great-grandfather of President Lincoln, was born in New Jersey in 1716. He learned the weaver's trade and in 1743 married Rebecca Flowers Morris of Caernarvon Township, Lancaster County. He bought several tracts of land in Lancaster and Berks counties, but in 1765 he sold his holdings in Pennsylvania and moved to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, settling a few miles north of present Harrisonburg in what is now Rockingham County. His son Abraham, grandfather of President Lincoln, was born in Pennsylvania in 1744 and emigrated to Virginia and later to Kentucky as described in the quotation from Lincoln above.

With the migration of John Lincoln to Virginia, Pennsylvania's association with President Lincoln's direct forebears ceased. Others of Mordecai Lincoln's children remained as did those of his brother Abraham, who came with him to Pennsylvania in 1720, so that President Lincoln had many distant cousins living in the Commonwealth when he occupied the White House.

Direct association between Pennsylvania and Lincoln began after he became a prominent figure in the new Republican party, which was organized on a national basis at Pittsburgh on February 22, 1856. This party was the direct result of the quarrels between the North and South over the question of the extension of slavery into the new territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War. In its earliest form, the dispute centered about an amendment offered by Congressman David Wilmot of Towanda, Pennsylvania, on August 8, 1846, to an appropriation bill to provide funds for negotiations to end the war with Mexico. This Wilmot Proviso specifically barred slavery from lands acquired from Mexico. Curiously enough, Abraham Lincoln was a Whig congressman from Illinois at this time, and he later wrote that he must have voted for the Wilmot Proviso at least forty times during his term.

As the dispute over slavery grew more bitter, Abraham Lincoln came to national prominence as a Republican candidate for United States Senator from Illinois through his famous debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858. Lincoln lost the senatorial election, but his strenuous opposition to the further extension of slavery into the territories and his creditable showing against Douglas, the leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1860, made him a national figure and a possible Republican candidate for the presidency.

To the strongly antislavery Quakers of southeastern Pennsylvania he seemed a particularly suitable candidate; and it was this fact which led Joseph J. Lewis, publisher of the *Chester County Times* at West Chester, to print in the newspaper on February 11, 1860, the first published biography of Abraham Lincoln. Based upon the short sketch which Lincoln had prepared for Jesse Fell in 1859, it was about six times as long as the original and was rewritten by Lewis to appeal particularly to Pennsylvania voters, who were favorable to a high tariff to protect their manufactured products from foreign competition.

As the presidential election year of 1860 came closer, United States Senator Simon Cameron obtained control of the Pennsylvania delegation to the Republican national convention in Chicago. Many of the delegates were unsympathetic to

Cameron and tended to follow the lead of Andrew Gregg Curtin and David Wilmot. On the first ballot in the convention, Pennsylvania gave Cameron 47½ votes and Lincoln only 4. Since it was obvious that Cameron could not be nominated, there was considerable maneuvering before the second ballot and a promise by David Davis, one of Lincoln's Illinois friends, that Cameron should receive a position in Lincoln's cabinet if he were elected. On the second ballot, Pennsylvania gave 48 votes to Lincoln, and this, in the opinion of Professor Reinhard H. Luthin, "did more than any single thing to tip the scales in favor of Lincoln." He was nominated on the third ballot. In the election that fall, Pennsylvania gave its 27 electoral votes to Lincoln and provided him with a popular vote of 268,030 to 208,412 for all his opponents.

Following the election the nation was plunged into the secession crisis, which became even more serious in February, 1861, with the formation of the Confederate States of America. About the same time Lincoln left Illinois on a long circuitous journey to Washington for his inauguration on March 4. Stopping at Pittsburgh on February 15, he made a speech emphasizing his approval of a protective tariff and assuring the people that the existing crisis of secession was an "artificial" one which would pass if people would keep their self-possession. Going on to Ohio, New York, and New Jersey, he re-entered Pennsylvania on February 21, and early the next morning participated in flag-raising ceremonies at Independence Hall in Philadelphia to celebrate Washington's Birthday. Returning to his hotel for breakfast, Lincoln then boarded a train for Harrisburg.

The night before in Philadelphia, he had been informed that a plot had been formed to assassinate him on the morning of February 23, either by derailing his train from Harrisburg to Baltimore and killing its occupants or by attacking his carriage as it went from one railroad station to another in Baltimore. Lincoln insisted on carrying out his trip to Harrisburg, but agreed to special arrangements to upset the plot.

Arriving in Harrisburg about 1:30 P.M. on February 22, he made brief responses to addresses of welcome by Governor Curtin at the Jones House and by the speakers of the two houses of the legislature at the Capitol. After a busy day of receiving the public and meeting many people, Lincoln made quiet preparations for departure. About 6:00 P.M. he was driven from the hotel to the station, where he secretly boarded a special train for Philadelphia. In order to prevent any mishaps, the telegraph lines out of Harrisburg were cut, and special guards were stationed at key points along the route. At West Philadelphia he left the train and transferred to the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad. He reached Baltimore about 3:30 A.M., where the cars of his train were pulled by horses from the President Street Station to the Camden Station of the Baltimore and Ohio. He journeyed on safely to Washington, arriving about sunrise.

In the war years which followed, Governor Curtin and the people of Pennsylvania were pillars of strength for the Union cause. The Commonwealth furnished troops to fight in both the east and the west; and its farms, factories, and mines supplied the food, clothing, and munitions so essential to victory. Of almost equal importance was the moral support given to Lincoln's administration when war weariness and political disputes were weakening the Union effort. This was strikingly demonstrated in the famous Altoona Conference in September, 1862.

Under the laws then existing, the federal government was dependent upon the states for supplying the troops needed by the armies. Many of the governors, particularly in New England, were convinced that Lincoln was not doing enough toward emancipation of the slaves, and they were likewise displeased with certain military leaders, particularly General George B. McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac. Some of them even hinted that further troops for the armies

The Gettysburg Address Memorial at Gettysburg National Military Park

would not be supplied unless their wishes regarding slavery were agreed to. In the summer of 1862, Governor Curtin aided Lincoln by persuading other governors to join him in an appeal requesting Lincoln to issue a call for more troops.

There was still danger, however, that the "Radical" governors would meet and adopt resolutions unfriendly to Lincoln's policies. Curtin, after consulting with Lincoln, issued a call for a conference of governors at Altoona "to take measures for the more active support of the government." The conference was held September 24–26, 1862, as planned and was attended by many of the Radical governors. Aided by Lincoln's issuance of the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, however, Curtin and the moderate governors were able to restrain the Radicals and make the conference a meeting in support of the administration and a more vigorous military effort in the war.

In the following year, Pennsylvania was invaded by Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in a campaign climaxed by the repulse of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg on the afternoon of July 3. The frightful carnage of the struggle and a desire to erect a memorial to the men who had died there moved the Commonwealth to purchase land for the erection of a "national" cemetery. David Wills of Gettysburg was in charge of the project, and it was he who invited Edward Everett, former president of Harvard, to deliver an oration for the occasion. Almost as an afterthought, Wills on November 2 invited President Lincoln to attend and as Chief Executive to "set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks."

Lincoln arrived in Gettysburg on the evening of November 18, 1863, and stayed at the home of David Wills, where on the morning of November 19 he wrote the "second draft" of his address. That afternoon at the cemetery he spoke a few earnest words which have deservedly become the classic expression of American idealism for all time. In them, Lincoln and Pennsylvania became forever united. No visitor to Gettysburg can ever forget the majestic simplicity of the stirring words uttered there in the autumn afternoon of 1863:

> Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.
>
> Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.
>
> But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

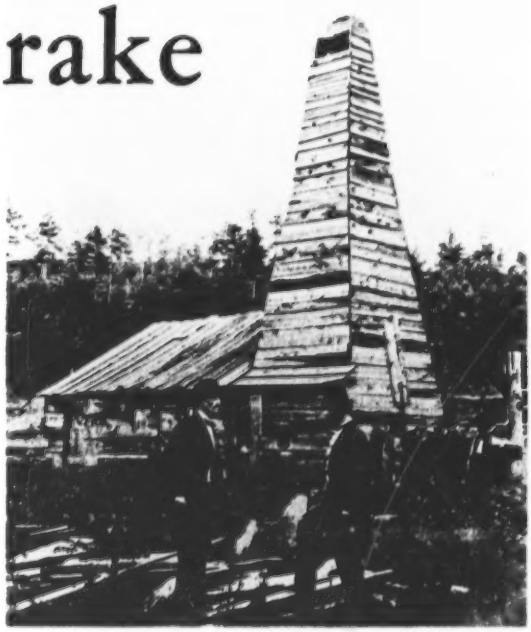
Abraham Lincoln

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1977. Second printing. Text by S. K. Stevens; sketch by Jeanne Benson; edited by S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent.

73

Edwin L. Drake

and the Birth of the Petroleum Industry



Drake and Peter Wilson at Drake Well in 1861

IN THE small valley of Oil Creek about a half-mile south of Titusville, Pennsylvania, lies a spot of great historical significance to Pennsylvania and to the world. Here on August 27, 1859, Edwin L. Drake completed drilling the world's first successful oil well. That achievement marks the birth of the far-flung petroleum industry of today.

Petroleum was not an unknown substance before 1859. Natural springs of it had been reported by writers before the time of Christ. French missionaries in seventeenth-century America are believed to have been describing an oil spring near present Cuba, New York, when they wrote that it contained a "thick and heavy water, which ignites like brandy and boils in bubbles of flame when fire is applied to it." In the eighteenth century there were reports of trade in oil brought to Niagara by the Seneca Indians, which is probably the reason for "Seneca Oil" being one of the earliest terms for petroleum in America. The first document known to indicate the presence of oil in Pennsylvania is the *Map of the Middle British Colonies in America* published by Lewis Evans in 1755.

Prior to the 1840's, the greatest source of petroleum in Pennsylvania was along Oil Creek. As white settlers moved into the region and settled along this stream, they began to skim petroleum from little springs which were either on the bank or in the bed of the stream. Sometimes this was done by floating a woolen or flannel cloth or a blanket on the water and then wringing it out when it was saturated with oil; at other times the oil was skimmed off the surface with wooden paddles. The settlers valued and used the petroleum primarily as a medicine.

Petroleum was also an unwanted by-product of salt wells. The producers of salt obtained their brine at first from salt springs; but as early as 1808 David and Joseph Ruffner, on the Kanawha River in present West Virginia, worked out a method of drilling wells to obtain a greater quantity of brine. Drilling soon became a standard practice for salt producers in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky. Quite frequently the brine pumped from these salt wells was accompanied by petroleum, and in some cases the amount of oil was so great that salt production and the well were abandoned. One well completed at Burkesville, Kentucky, in 1829 produced pure oil and flowed at an estimated rate of a thousand barrels daily. Nothing was done with this flood of petroleum except to bottle and sell small amounts of it as a medicine.

By the later 1840's a number of developments laid the foundation for a big market for petroleum. There was a large demand for cheap, safe burning fluids for lighting; and likewise, as industry grew, there was a swelling demand for lubricants for the increasing number of machines. These demands came at a time when the supply

of whale oil was declining and when the supply of lard oil was proving insufficient to meet the needs of industry. This situation led men in Europe and America to develop methods of obtaining oil from coal by distilling. In Canada, Abraham Gesner produced such an oil and gave it the name of "keroselain," a combination of the Greek words for "wax" and "oil." It later came to be called "kerosene." Meanwhile, Luther and William Atwood in Boston developed "coup oil," a lubricant made by mixing vegetable and animal oils with an oil distilled from coal tar. The result of all these experiments and of others in Great Britain was that by 1859 there were more than fifty companies in the United States manufacturing oil from coal, and kerosene was displacing other burning fluids for lighting purposes because it was cheaper and safer. One large plant in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, had a capacity of six thousand gallons of kerosene daily.

In Pittsburgh, Samuel M. Kier became interested about 1845 in making use of the petroleum produced by salt wells operated by his father at Tarentum on the Allegheny River. For a time he bottled and sold the petroleum as medicine, but this did not prove very profitable nor did it dispose of much oil. He made further experiments in distilling the petroleum to produce an illuminant, and by 1854 he had succeeded to such an extent that he built a refinery with a five-barrel still at Pittsburgh to manufacture this "carbon oil." He is generally considered to have been the first commercial refiner of petroleum, and the site where he built this refinery near the corner of Seventh Avenue and Grant Street in Pittsburgh is now marked to commemorate this achievement.

By 1858 Kier and the Pittsburgh firm of McKeown and Finley had begun to sell sizable quantities of carbon oil to New York City distributors. Petroleum from western Pennsylvania was also being sold to textile mills for use as a lubricant. The growing demand outran the supply, and the price of oil climbed from seventy-five cents to two dollars a gallon. The development of these markets set the stage for the drilling of the Drake Well.

Dr. Francis Beattie Brewer, a graduate of Dartmouth College and a practicing physician, moved in 1851 from Massachusetts to Titusville to join his father's lumber firm of Brewer, Watson and Company. He immediately became interested in an old oil spring located near Upper Mill on the Hibbard farm, a property of the company located about a half-mile below Titusville. In the fall of 1853 he carried a small bottle of the petroleum from this spring to Hanover, New Hampshire. While he was there, the sample was examined by Dr. Dixi Crosby of the Dartmouth Medical School and by Professor O. P. Hubbard of the chemistry department of the college. Both pronounced it very valuable. A few weeks later, George H. Bissell, a Dartmouth graduate then practicing law in New York City, returned to his home in Hanover, saw the bottle of petroleum in Crosby's office, and began to wonder if petroleum could not be used as an illuminant. He and his business partner, Jonathan G. Eveleth, decided that they would form a company to buy the land, develop the oil spring, and market the oil, provided a sufficient supply could be found. After a number of trips to Titusville, they finally purchased the Hibbard farm on November 10, 1854, for $5,000. A few weeks later, on December 30, 1854, they organized the Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company of New York, the first petroleum company in the world.

Sales of stock in the new venture were very slow. Times were hard, people were ignorant of the value of petroleum, and there was a lack of confidence in Bissell and Eveleth. Furthermore, under the laws of New York the stockholders were liable for all the company's debts. A turning point came with the publication of a report showing the economic value of petroleum by Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., of Yale College, who had been employed by Bissell and Eveleth to analyze the oil. This report led James M. Townsend and a number of other New Haven capitalists to agree to buy stock in the venture provided the company was reorganized under the more liberal corporation laws of Connecticut. This was done, and the Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company of Connecticut was formed on September 18, 1855, with a capital stock of $300,000.

Progress was still slow, however, because of

friction between the New Haven and the New York stockholders. For this reason Townsend and the other New Haven men decided to organize another company to lease the land and produce the oil. They therefore formed the Seneca Oil Company on March 23, 1858, and the company then leased the Titusville property from the Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company. Edwin L. Drake was named general agent of the Seneca Oil Company at an annual salary of $1,000, and in the spring of 1858 he was sent to Titusville to begin the production of oil.

Drake had spent the first years of his life on farms in New York and Vermont. He received a common-school education, and at the age of nineteen he left home and went to the west. At Buffalo, he secured a job as night clerk on a ship sailing between that city and Detroit, and in the next few years he held a succession of jobs—hotel clerk in Michigan, clerk in drygoods stores in New Haven and New York, and express agent for the Boston and Albany Railroad. In 1849 he became a conductor on the New York and New Haven Railroad and moved to New Haven. During the summer of 1857 he fell ill and was forced to give up his position with the railroad. While living at the Tontine Hotel in New Haven, he became acquainted with Townsend, talked with him about petroleum, and finally purchased a small amount of stock in the Titusville venture. He had just passed his thirty-ninth birthday when the Seneca Oil Company was formed.

Arriving at Titusville in May, 1858, Drake went quietly about his work, attempting first to dig a well at the site of the principal spring on the Hibbard farm. After several weeks of excavating, the workmen struck a vein of water that drove them out of the pit, and Drake decided that it would be cheaper to drill. Lacking any previous experience in this work, he went to Tarentum to observe the manner of drilling salt wells and also to hire a driller for his own project. Returning to Titusville, he ordered a six-horsepower steam engine and a "Long John" stationary tubular boiler to furnish power for the drilling; but his driller did not appear. Drake could not find an immediate replacement, and since it was growing late in the season he suspended his plans for drilling until the winter had passed.

Edwin L. Drake

In the spring of 1859 Drake secured the services of William A. Smith, of Salina, Pennsylvania, who had worked on the salt wells at Tarentum. He agreed to do the drilling for $2.50 a day and to "throw in" the services of his fifteen-year-old son. Smith made the drilling tools—the kind commonly used in drilling salt wells—for Drake at Tarentum. There was some difficulty in starting the well because ground water continually caused the hole to collapse. Drake solved this problem by obtaining several ten-foot sections of cast-iron pipe from Erie and by driving the pipe thirty-two feet to bedrock with an oak battering ram lifted by a windlass. With this done, drilling was begun at that depth about the middle of August, 1859.

On Saturday afternoon, August 27, as Smith and his helpers neared the finish of their day, the drill dropped into a crevice at a depth of sixty-nine feet from the surface and slipped downward six inches. The men pulled the tools out of the hole and then went home with no thought of having struck oil. Late Sunday afternoon "Uncle Billy," as Smith was generally known, visited the well, peered into the pipe, and saw a dark fluid floating on top of the water

Oil country photographer John A. Mather photographed the Drake Well remains in 1896.

within a few feet of the derrick floor. Ladling up a sample, he found that it was oil. Greatly excited, he sent his boy running to the Upper Mill crying, "They've struck oil!" In the general confusion no one thought of gauging the production of the well, but the best evidence indicates that it produced oil at the rate of eight to ten barrels daily.

Drake seemed pleased at his success, but he did not appear much excited. It is doubtful whether he or others realized the full significance of his achievement at the time. Later the meaning of it became much clearer. Drake had become the founder of the modern petroleum industry by providing an essential factor which had hitherto been lacking—he had demonstrated that a dependable supply of this natural resource could be obtained by drilling. Success was achieved by his persistence despite continued disappointment and by his enterprise in applying salt-well drilling techniques to tap underground reservoirs of petroleum. Incidentally, of course, his well and others disclosed the existence of vast oil fields in northwestern Pennsylvania, and thereby helped to provide a supply of petroleum to replace coal as the source of safe, cheap burning fluids and of superior lubricants essential to modern industrial civilization.

His well completed, Drake soon ceased to be a factor in the petroleum industry. After serving as a justice of the peace and as an oil buyer for New York merchants, he left Titusville in 1863. Eventually, he lost everything he had by unsuccessful speculations in oil stocks, became a victim of neuralgia, and spent the rest of his life in an invalid's chair. His condition became known, and in 1873 the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, in recognition of the important contribution he had made to the economic development of the Commonwealth, voted him an annual income of $1,500. After his death in 1880, the pension was transferred to his wife. Drake was living in Bethlehem at the time of his death and was buried there, but in 1901 his body was moved to Titusville where a splendid monument honors his memory.

Today Drake Well Park welcomes visitors to its modern Museum and to the replica of Drake's enginehouse and derrick at the original well. Administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the Park and Museum illustrate the history of the petroleum industry. In this quiet, scenic valley along Oil Creek the Park and the Museum commemorate Drake's achievement and the founding of a giant of modern industrial civilization.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1975. Second edition. Text by Paul H. Giddens; edited and revised by S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent.

Painting in Pennsylvania

I. The Province and Early Commonwealth

THROUGH individual artists and through its institutions, such as the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, the oldest art organization in this country, Pennsylvania has contributed generously to the growth of American art. It is proposed in this leaflet and in its sequel to give a concise account of main developments and to introduce some of the more significant painters. This first section discusses the Colonial and post-Revolutionary periods.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries painting in the American colonies consisted mainly of portraiture. Religious and classical subjects traditionally had been the main concern of the painter in Europe, where he had worked in large part for the church, for royalty, and for aristocratic patrons. But in this country there was no demand for such pictures. The biblical paintings of John Valentine Haidt (1700-1780), many of which remain in Bethlehem and Nazareth, are a special case, and as a body are unique of their kind. But in Philadelphia, those few eighteenth-century gentlemen who wished to indulge their taste for art imported copies of the Old Masters. And once the English had supplanted the Dutch in New York, there remained no potential market for landscape, genre, or still-life paintings—these being neither noble nor useful branches of the arts.

1. *Gustavus Hesselius,* TISHCOHAN. *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

Americans did want likenesses, however, in much the same way as they wanted good furniture and utensils; and in this demand the painter in early days found his means of livelihood. Just as the furniture maker made use of patterns from abroad, so the painter followed European models, those of the well-defined traditions of baroque portraiture with which he was familiar especially through the medium of engraving.

The main streams of influence tended naturally to flow from England or the Netherlands. Yet it was a Swedish artist who, arriving at Philadelphia in 1712, seems to have been the first fully trained and experienced professional to practice in the colonies.

Gustavus Hesselius (1682-1755) was thirty when he came to America. After a brief sojourn in Maryland, he settled in Philadelphia to serve as "Face Painter" to the town; there he also manufactured pipe organs and dealt successfully in real estate. Except for a very few "landskips" and some classical and religious paintings, remnants of his European background, his painting output consisted of portraits. In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are the fine pair of Lapowinsa and Tishcohan, chieftains of the Leni-Lenape tribe who signed the "Walking Purchase" treaty. Commissioned in 1735 by John Penn, these are the earliest known formal portraits from life of American Indians. The pictorial area of each

2. *William Williams,* DEBORAH HALL. *The Brooklyn Museum.*

3. *Benjamin West,* THOMAS MIFFLIN. *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

canvas is a baroque oval, and the competently drawn and softly modeled figure emerges luminously from a dark background. *Tishcohan* (Fig. 1), his pipe tucked into a squirrel-skin pouch, wears over his left shoulder a blue blanket which sets off the copper coloration of his skin.

In Pennsylvania, as in the rest of the seaboard colonies, wherever there were enough people of sufficient means to purchase portraits, "limners" appeared in increasing numbers to cater to their needs. Some came from abroad, as did Gustavus Hesselius and later John Wollaston (active, 1749-1767), "the almond-eyed painter," who worked at times in Philadelphia after mid-century. Others mushroomed from native pastures, like John Meng (1734-ca. 1754) of Germantown, who, dying too young to fulfill the early promise of his talents, at least left us one of the most fetching of self-portraits (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

In 1763 a certain William Williams (ca. 1710-ca. 1790), "lately returned from the West Indies," was again (after a previous visit) advertising his professional wares and services in the Philadelphia newspapers. He was an intriguing figure—a painter of portraits and stage scenery, a musician, a writer of sorts, and a man of many adventures. His manner of painting is well shown in the full-length portrait of *Deborah Hall* (1766: Fig. 2), an enchanting young lady richly gowned in coral pink and set against a background of blue-greens. In Williams' work there is a delicate quality that reminds us of the brittle China-doll effects of the French rococo.

Even before any actual painting of Williams had been identified, he was known to students of American art as the first teacher of Benjamin West (1738-1820). When this young artist came to Philadelphia from his back-country birthplace near Swarthmore, he was pleased to find in Williams a painter who could instruct him in professional ways. But West also was an intelligent self-teacher, who from observation of paintings and engravings had already assimilated more than the rudiments of his craft. There is actually more of Wollaston than of Williams in the canvas that is regarded as his American masterpiece, a portrait of young *Thomas Mifflin* (ca. 1754: Fig. 3), who later became the first

4. *Matthew Pratt,* THE AMERICAN SCHOOL. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Samuel P. Avery, 1897.*

Governor of the Commonwealth. Here the subject was barely fifteen, and the artist was still under twenty.

West went abroad in 1760, and after a sojourn in Italy, settled in England, where he became a special favorite of George III and ultimately president of the Royal Academy. His fame then, of course, rested not on the painting of portraits, for he regarded this as a "waste of genius," but of "History," the noblest realm of the painter's art. The works of these later years, even those representing subjects taken from American history (*The Death of Wolfe at Quebec, Penn's Treaty with the Indians,* and others), lie artistically within the European rather than any American tradition.

In the final summary, West's role in the art of his own country was to be mainly that of counselor to a succession of Americans who through more than half a century were received with helpful kindliness in his studio. We see him in this capacity in *The American School* (Fig. 4) painted in 1765 by Matthew Pratt (1734-1805) of Philadelphia. Some young painters listen respectfully to the criticism of the master (at left), much as they would in any art class of today. In England they were referring to this sort of picture as a "conversation piece." Pratt's is a prime example of the type.

Matthew Pratt and Charles Willson Peale

5. *Charles Willson Peale,* STAIRCASE GROUP. *Philadelphia Museum of Art.*

(1741-1827) were among the first of those Americans who, beginning in the seventeen-sixties, studied with West in London. Pratt returned to a modest living painting portraits and signs for Philadelphia tradesmen until his death in 1805. Peale's was a longer and far more varied career, in which he figured as painter and promoter of the arts, soldier and patriot, manager of a museum, and patriarch of a large and very active family—to cite only his chief roles.

It is difficult indeed to single out one from the numerous works which might serve to represent this versatile painter, from *The Peale Family* (New-York Historical Society) of his early years to *The Artist in his Museum* (The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts),

6. *Raphaelle Peale,* After the Bath. *Nelson Gallery, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City.*

7. *John Lewis Krimmel,* Fourth of July in Centre Square. *The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.*

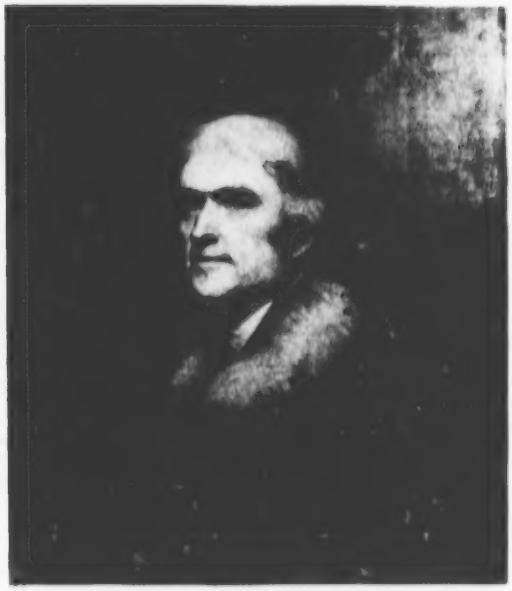
painted when he was past eighty. Yet none has more human appeal than the well-known *Staircase Group* (Fig. 5), in which the artist's sons Raphaelle and Titian are seen, the artistic Raphaelle with his painter's equipment, his younger brother on the steps above him.

Peale's active career extended far into the years following the Revolution, when for a time Philadelphia served as the nation's capital not only in a political but in a cultural sense as well. It amused Gilbert Stuart to refer to it then as the "Athens of America." While not a Pennsylvanian, Stuart (1755-1828) resided in Philadelphia and Germantown through a full decade at the end of the century and painted there some of his most important works, notably three life-portraits of George Washington, much copied afterward and by far the best-known likenesses of the first President.

Nowhere in the new nation at this time were activities in the arts so great and so varied as in Philadelphia. If Peale's Columbianum failed as an organization after sponsoring one public exhibition in 1795, it was followed shortly, in 1806, by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where annual exhibitions, instituted in 1811, provided the artist with opportunities to display his work and, moreover, encouraged him to branch out from portraiture into varied fields of subject matter.

From the Peale circle came a surprising vogue for still-life painting. James Peale (1749-1831), a brother of Charles, worked this field, as did also Raphaelle Peale (1774-1825). Raphaelle's still-lifes are the most admired today, but the most popular of his canvases is one of those "deceptions" so often perpetrated by the Peales, a realistic rendering of a towel seemingly hung over a painting of a figure of which only the foot and an arm can be seen. Given the title *After the Bath* (Fig. 6), it is an artist's joke, yet beautifully painted in Raphaelle's impeccable and now much admired technique.

Landscape was to become our most popular, some say the most American, branch of our arts. A self-taught Philadelphian, Thomas Doughty (1793-1856), while not by any means the first American to paint landscape, nevertheless was one of the first to make a profession of it. Another Philadelphian Thomas Birch (1779-1851), whose English-born father is noted for early engraved views of the city, painted not only landscapes but seascapes, profiting by en-



8. *Rembrandt Peale,* THOMAS JEFFERSON. *The New-York Historical Society.*

livening these with portrayals of the naval engagements of the War of 1812.

In still another field, the German immigrant John Lewis Krimmel (1789-1821) painted humorous genre subjects such as *Fourth of July in Centre Square* (Fig. 7). This animated scene, with its grogseller, sundry revelers, straight-laced Quakers, and promenading fashionables, was indeed something new to painting in this country, and it remains today one of the most delectable mementos of the old Quaker City. In the background, representing architecture and sculpture, are Benjamin Latrobe's new Greek-styled pumping house and a *Nymph and Bittern* fountain figure by William Rush.

Yet with all these departures in subject fields, portraiture in this generation continued to be the painter's main source of income. Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), another of the artist-named sons of Charles Willson Peale, produced possibly the most vital portrait of *Thomas Jefferson* (Fig. 8), painted in 1805 as Jefferson assumed the presidency. For his much advertised "Port Hole" *Washington,* Rembrandt relied on his own memories and on various pictorial records to effect a kind of synthesis which he claimed to be the most authentic likeness of the first President.

9. *Thomas Sully,* DR. SAMUEL COATES. *Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia.*

It was Thomas Sully (1783-1872), however, who quickly took the lead in this field when he returned from his London training shortly before the War of 1812. Sully had mastered a dextrous technique sometimes compared with that of England's Sir Thomas Lawrence. His virtuosity is displayed in such canvases as the full-length *Dr. Samuel Coates* (1811: Fig. 9), with its fluent brushwork, sunny lighting, and easy pose of the subject, who has paused in the midst of writing at his cherrywood cabinet desk.

Like Stuart, Sully exerted considerable influence upon the American portraitists of his time. His style is often reflected, for example, in the works of Jacob Eichholtz (1776-1842), a Lancaster painter, older than Sully and self-trained, yet able and willing to assimilate many of the latter's mannerisms into his otherwise very matter-of-fact likenesses.

Sully's aptest pupil, who received advice also from Gilbert Stuart, was his son-in-law John Neagle (1796-1865). Through many years he and Sully shared the market for the most fashionable and lucrative portrait commissions in the Philadelphia area. A most unusual

10. *John Neagle,* PAT LYON AT THE FORGE. *The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.*

11. *Edward Hicks.* THE RESIDENCE OF DAVID TWINING. *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Williamsburg.*

opportunity came Neagle's way when a highly independent Irish blacksmith had himself painted in a habitat setting, standing by his anvil in work clothes, an apprentice pumping the bellows for his fire. In contemporary exhibits *Pat Lyon at his Forge* (Fig. 10) was something of a sensation, and it has remained one of the showpieces of American painting.

Those who attended early exhibits at the Pennsylvania Academy saw not only the work of professionally recognized artists but also that of craftsmen whose workaday jobs consisted of making street signs, painting fire equipment, and ornamenting objects of all sorts from kitchenware to coaches. There was, for example, Philadelphia's John A. Woodside (1781-1852), noted for the meticulous finish of his paintings, who has been called "probably the most competent artisan painter of the Federal Era."

The most interesting of these "primitives" was a Bucks County Quaker, Edward Hicks (1780-1849), who divided his time between religious activities and the painting of signs, carriages, and furniture. In a devotional spirit he painted biblical subjects, especially those numerous versions of *The Peaceable Kingdom,* based on the verses of Isaiah II: 6-9. Now and then he recorded memories of his own background, as in *The Residence of David Twining 1787* (Fig. 11), picturing the farm where he had spent his boyhood.

When Hicks painted the Twining farmstead in his fifty-fifth year, he was looking back nostalgically across the whole of the post-Revolutionary period. In American art this had been a time of rich fruition, in which a new nation had begun to mold a national art. Many were conscious and proud of this. Rembrandt Peale, who had been born in the winter of Washington's encampment at Valley Forge, now could see it so: "I have lived long enough," he could say, "to witness the entire growth of the Fine Arts in our country." And a great deal of this growth had been rooted in the fertile ground of eastern Pennsylvania.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg. 1960. Text by Dr. Harold E. Dickson; edited by Dr. S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent.

The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

Painting in Pennsylvania

II. Since the Eighteen-Thirties

IN THIS and a preceding leaflet the story of painting in Pennsylvania is briefly surveyed. The earlier section presents a concise account of the main developments and introduces some of the more significant painters of the Colonial and post-Revolutionary periods. This leaflet covers developments and painters from around 1830 up to but not into the present. No living artists have been included.

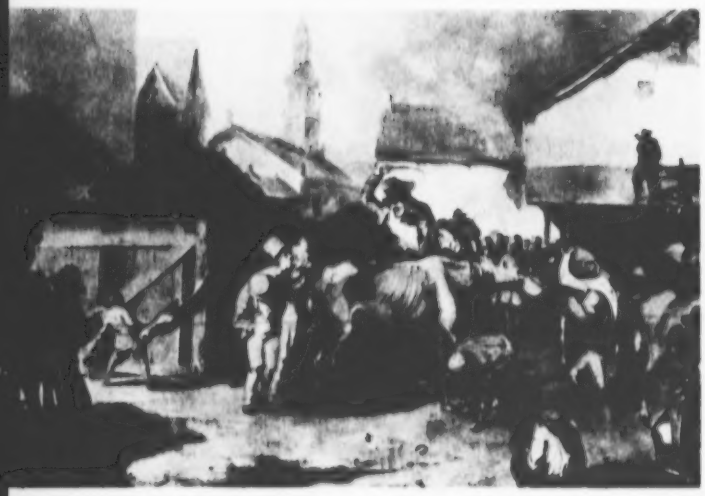
Through the first quarter of the nineteenth century the arts naturally flourished for the most part in the eastern portion of the Commonwealth, centering in and about Philadelphia. Yet portraitists and even landscapists had begun penetrating the western river valleys. By 1830 a fair number of them had settled in Pittsburgh, and the active exploration of the Far West had taken some of the more adventurous even into that distant region.

Just a century after Gustavus Hesselius had painted the Leni-Lenape chieftains in Philadelphia (see Leaflet I), George Catlin (1796-1872) pushed into the Upper Missouri regions to record at first hand the ways and appearances of the western tribes. Born in Wilkes-Barre and first trained for the legal profession, Catlin deserted it and, having picked up some knowledge of painting at Philadelphia, set out in 1830 on his life career of assembling and exhibiting throughout the Americas and in western Europe his great and always growing collection of Indian pictures. Eventually his interests extended to cover Indian life elsewhere, in Florida and in South America. Painting in a calligraphic style, more brush drawing than painting, he was able quickly to capture the character of a scene or personality. The full-length portrait of *Osceola* (Fig. 1), a chieftain of the Florida Seminoles, is an admirable example of his work.

1. *George Catlin,* OSCEOLA. *The American Museum of Natural History.*

By the time Catlin's Indian Gallery was given its first public showing at Pittsburgh in 1832, that city could boast also a gallery of its own. James Reid Lambdin (1807-1889), who while working with Sully had seen the Peale Museum and other picture displays in Philadelphia, in 1828 had set up in his native Pittsburgh a "Museum of Natural History and Gallery of Painting." Lambdin himself was a portrait painter, of the sort often called upon to do "official" portraits—every American President from John Quincy Adams to James A. Garfield sat for him.

At the art shop of J. J. Gillespie, long a rendezvous of Pittsburgh's painters, were frequently to be seen those men of true though modest talents who make up the roll of the earliest established artists of western Pennsylvania. W. T. Russell Smith (1812-1896), a pupil of Lambdin, emerged in the thirties as a scene painter for the theatre, and then as a landscapist. The British-born William Coventry Wall (1810-1886) and other members



2. *David G. Blythe,* THE PITTSBURGH HORSE MARKET. *Mrs. R. Lucien Patton.*

3. *Thomas Eakins,* WALT WHITMAN. *The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.*

of an artistic family likewise painted landscape, while Jasper Lawman (1925-1906) specialized in genre subjects.

Out of this group it was the eccentric David Gilmour Blythe (1815-1865) who ultimately was to be assigned an important role in American art as one of the masters of comic genre painting, a field in which John Lewis Krimmel (see Leaflet 1) had pioneered. Blythe came from across the Ohio border to practice wood carving in Pittsburgh and Uniontown. His was the knack of a born caricaturist to extract the comic possibilities of his chosen subjects. *The Pittsburgh Horse Market* (Fig. 2) is the work not only of a bold and original satirist, who flouted accepted ideals of art to paint as he pleased, but of a gifted artist.

In the decades before the Civil War the towns of central Pennsylvania were frequently visited by painters and some had their local artists. John F. Francis (1808-1886) penetrated as far as Bellefonte to paint portraits and still-life. Severin Roesen (ca. 1815-ca. 1871), German-born and trained in Europe, found buyers for his decorative flower and fruit pieces in prospering Williamsport. Here and there could be found folk art of unusually lively character, as in the animated pictorial journals of the York carpenter, Lewis Miller (1795-1882: Historical Society of York County), or the paintings of diversions and labors in the forested upper regions of the West Branch painted by the self-taught Linton Park (1862-1906).

Yet firmly rooted traditions in the arts continued to flourish in Philadelphia through this mid-century period. Something of a renaissance was touched off by the Centennial celebration of 1876, when the nation's first art exhibit of international scope was arranged as part of the exposition, and when, with a fanfare of exhibits and publicity, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts moved into its new and colorful Victorian Gothic building on Broad Street.

A revitalization of the program of the Academy that took place at this time was applauded even by the critics of Manhattan who were otherwise inclined to scoff at "the aesthetic provincialism of Philadelphia." A central force in this instructional revolution was Thomas Cowperthwait Eakins (1844-1916), who rigorously taught and emphasized a basic approach of working from the living model. As teacher and as painter, Eakins is a towering figure. Except for his few years of professional training in Paris just after the Civil War, his whole life and career are part of the Philadelphia scene.

Without drama, but with quiet authority and

4. *Thomas Eakins,* THE SWIMMING HOLE. *Collection of the Fort Worth Art Museum.*

an unflinching integrity of vision, Eakins painted the people of his immediate world. Often they were the members or close friends of his immediate family, but he liked to do portraits of professional people, scientists, teachers, musicians and others, representing them objectively, "without fuss of any sort." There were some who were dismayed at the unrelenting truthfulness of such portraiture, but *Walt Whitman* (1887-8: Fig. 3) welcomed it, saying that only Eakins had pictured him as he was; not as "the conventional, proper old man."

Eakins' sporting pictures—of oarsmen on the Schuylkill, hunters in the Delaware marshes, wrestlers, pugilists, and others—reflect his personal interest and participation in the sports revival of his time as well as his anatomist's knowledge of bodily structure. A kind of epitome of these interests is *The Swimming Hole* (Fig. 4), a triangular arrangement of nude males on and about a broken stone pier by the water. Purportedly swimmers, their poses for the most part suggested those of life-class models, and we sense in each the artist's almost obsessive concern with the thing seen.

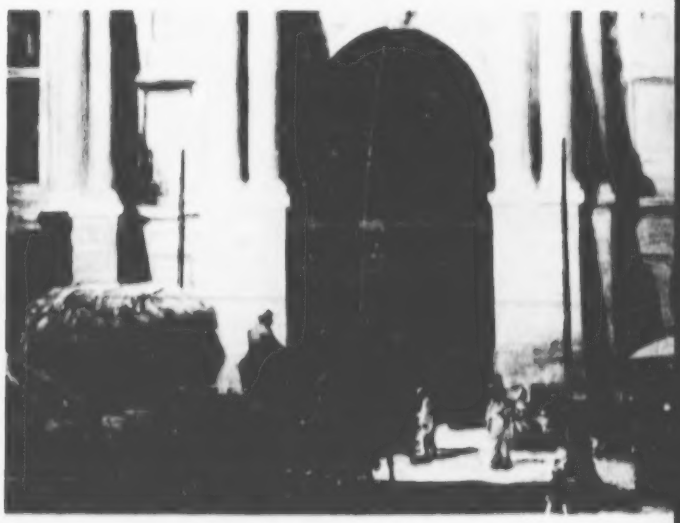
It is a coincidence that two of the most illustrious American artists—Eakins and Cassatt—should have been born within a year of one another at opposite ends of Pennsylvania. Mary Cassatt (1845-1926) came from Pittsburgh's

5. *Mary Cassatt,* WOMAN WITH A DOG. *The Corcoran Gallery of Arts.*

North Side and briefly studied painting at the Pennsylvania Academy. But unlike the home-staying Eakins, Miss Cassatt, enabled by her independent means to travel widely in the art centers of Europe, chose to live abroad, one of our artist expatriates. A perceptive and highly intelligent person, Cassatt perfected her own style to the point where Edgar Degas, seeing her canvases, insisted that she exhibit with the *avant garde* Impressionists—a misogynist, he is said to have expressed unbelief that a woman could paint so well. Cassatt, like Eakins, was primarily a figure painter, her subjects mostly women and children. Her sister Lydia posed for *Woman with a Dog* (Fig. 5), a canvas replete with Impressionistic effects—clear, high-keyed color and a very loose but sensitive brush style—yet as always in the best of Cassatt, handled with a firm sense of form and formal relationships.

The disciplined teaching initiated by Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy was carried forward past the turn of the century by his pupil and follower, Thomas Anshutz (1851-1912).

6. *George Luks,* THE MINER. *Chester Dale Collection, National Gallery of Art.*



7. *John Sloan,* EAST ENTRANCE, CITY HALL. *Kraushaar Galleries, New York.*

And this life-based instruction, together with the stringent naturalism of Eakins' own painting, contributed to the rise of a realist movement that had its inception in Philadelphia during the last decade of the century.

Luks, Sloan, and Glackens were the Pennsylvania-born members of a group that met sometimes in the Walnut Street studio of Robert Henri (1865-1929). Most of them were engaged as pictorial reporters for the press, accustomed to seeing life in the raw. And all, incited by the dynamic Henri, were rebels against the established order in art, holding a common conviction that something more vital than the academic ideal of beauty must be the goal of art. Around the turn of the century there was a general exodus of the group to New York, where in 1908 they participated in the since famous exhibition of "The Eight."

One looks for neither elegance nor subtlety in the paintings of George Benjamin Luks (1867-1933), a native of Williamsport. By nature he was an extrovert—brawny, pugnacious, waggish, scornful of convention, abounding in vital energy that entered into his painting. His early canvases were dark-toned, with black the basis of color; later he turned to strong, even garish, coloration. He was especially fond of the single figure, preferring earthy and picturesque types, as in *The Miner* (Fig. 6), one of his Pottsville subjects. Here strong blues predominate, and the paint is vigorously applied with broad strokes that suggest at times the use of a trowel rather than brush or palette knife.

John Sloan (1871-1951), born in Lock Haven, was throughout his long life an observer of people engaged in the homely affairs of daily living, in the streets, shops, and restaurants, in grubby apartments, or in promenading fashionably on the avenue or in the park. In an early canvas, *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia* (1901: Fig. 7), he painted in the low-keyed color used by the realists in their initial works a cityscape animated by the traffic and activity of a sunny morning. For many years Sloan was unable to sell his paintings, earning his subsistence instead by means of his prints and illustrative work. Happily he lived long enough to be regarded as the dean of his profession.

In the year that Eakins returned to Philadelphia from his studies abroad, William James Glackens (1870-1938) was born in that city. He was thirty-five when in his first appearance at a Pittsburgh International exhibition, the handsome large canvas called *Chez Mouquin* (Fig. 8) received an honorable mention. Soon afterward this picture was included in the exhibition of "The Eight"—its title being the name of the restaurant where the participating artists dined

(10) 92

8. *William Glackens,* CHEZ MOUQUIN. *The Art Institute of Chicago.*

on the occasion of the show's opening. Glackens was an offshoot of French Impressionism—even the subject of this work is an American version of the popular Parisian cafe pictures. It is executed in the spirited manner of painting associated especially with Manet. In later works Glackens was to adopt a softer technique and higher color key, close to the style of Auguste Renoir.

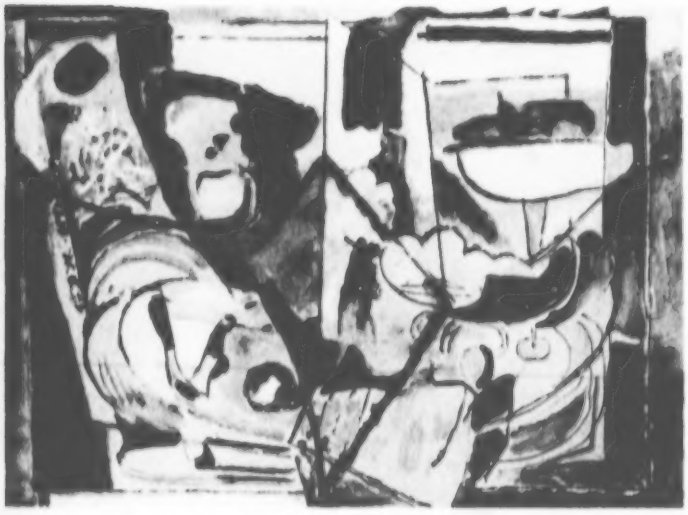
If the pungently realistic subjects and vigorous painting of "The Eight" jolted the complacency of American art lovers of the old school, there was nevertheless little there to prepare them for the coming shock of the revolution that was taking place in Europe. For our realists of 1908 seem conservative enough when compared with something like the formidable *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (Museum of Modern Art) of Pablo Picasso, finished in that same year, with its foreshadowing of cubism and savage rejection of the canons of classical beauty.

One of the Americans who responded sensitively to the new developments was the Lancaster artist Charles Demuth (1883-1935). Demuth had studied with Anshutz at the Pennsylvania

9. *Charles Demuth,* AFTER SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN. *Dial Collection, on loan at Worcester Art Museum.*

Academy, but when he returned in 1914 from sojourning in Paris, he had left academic techniques behind and in a highly personal manner was painting delicately drawn and washed aquarelles that show his familiarity with the water colors of Paul Cézanne and some of the Fauvists. Soon he adopted a cubist method of sharply and arbitrarily cutting his subjects into multiple planes. Often employing motives from his own Lancaster neighborhood he contrived tautly controlled arrangements such as *After Sir Christopher Wren* (Fig. 9). Though delicate, restricted in its range, and never strongly assertive in its effects, the work of Demuth may well stand as Pennsylvania's finest contribution to American art in the first half of this century.

After World War I the modern movements—Fauvism, Expressionism, Cubism, and their multiple branchings—increasingly entered into the teaching program of the venerable Pennsylvania Academy. There for some years Arthur Carles (1882-1952) not only made painting a matter of vital concern to his pupils but in himself set them an example of a deeply serious and probing artist whose work kept pace with the times. In the early 1930's there were few American artists who had gone as far as Carles into pure



10. *Arthur Carles,* COMPOSITION, 1935-37. *Courtesy Graham, New York City.*

11. *John Kane,* SELF PORTRAIT. *The Museum of Modern Art. Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller.*

abstract painting. *Table Arrangement* (Fig. 10) is no more than an oblong of structural elements and clean, singing color, almost without reference to visual reality. A decade before his death Carles was forced by illness to abandon painting, but by that time he had already anticipated main trends in painting up to mid-century.

As part of the great widening of artistic interests and experience in modern times has come the sometimes exciting discovery of creative originality in the work of the born, though untutored, artist—Edward Hicks, of course, was one of these (see Leaflet I). At least three Pennsylvania "primitives" of the twentieth century are among those now most highly esteemed: in West Chester Horace Pippin (1888-1946), a Negro veteran of World War I, painted his memories of conflict and folk scenes of his own people; earlier, Joseph Pickett (1848-1918), by trade a carpenter, had projected a series of realistic yet imaginative pictures of his native New Hope and of events of the Revolution that took place in that neighborhood; and in Pittsburgh an humble Scottish-born laborer, John Kane (1860-1934), became a celebrity overnight when in 1927 his works were hung with those of illustrious figures of the art world in a Carnegie International exhibition. Kane's stark and factual *Self Portrait* (Fig. 11), the torso of a working man studied in the mirror, as at the end of a day's work, is one of the masterpieces of American folk art.

Painting in Pennsylvania has never been a true regional expression, that is, one with its own peculiar and indigenous qualities, but rather has been an integral part of the larger regional development of the country as a whole. Exception might be made for the folk arts and crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans. Yet out of this area between the Delaware and the upper Ohio River have come many worthwhile things in art, along with a goodly number of distinguished painters and sometimes a full-blown Pennsylvania master—a Charles Willson Peale, an Eakins, a Demuth. These constitute an artistic heritage in which citizens of the Commonwealth may forgivably take a certain possessive pride.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1960. Text by Dr. Harold E. Dickson; edited by Dr. S. W. Higginbotham and Donald H. Kent.

The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

The Walking Purchase

"YOU RUN, that's not fair, you was to Walk." Thus, twenty years afterward, someone remembered an Indian's objection to the "Walking Purchase" of 1737, probably the most widely known and perhaps the least understood of Pennsylvania's Indian purchases.

William Penn, who died almost twenty years before the "Walking Purchase," is famous for his just treatment of the Indians. Though not legally required to pay the Indians for his Pennsylvania lands, he nevertheless had done so, both from a sense of justice and for the sake of peaceful relations between his settlers and the Indians; and he and his agents had made at least seventeen purchases from the Indians living near the lower Delaware River.

Most of these purchases involved narrow tracts of land, often overlapping; but on paper, at least, some of them ran far back into the country: two days' travel by horse, as far as a man could go in a day and a half or two days, or in one case "to the utmost bounds of the said Province." Such measurements, however important to Penn, meant little to the Indians so long as they were not hurried off the land. In at least one instance Penn had the land measured: the man's two-day travel, specified in a 1685 deed, was surveyed three years later as a line from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna, a distance of about seventy miles.

Soon after William Penn's death in 1718, his secretary James Logan had these purchases confirmed by a single deed from Sasoonan and other Indians representing those who had made the earlier sales. Extending north to the Lehigh Hills and from the Delaware River to the lower Susquehanna, this deed did not actually include all the land that might have been claimed under the earlier ones—it certainly did not extend "to the utmost bounds" of Pennsylvania—but it included as much as was then needed for the white settlers.

For fourteen years thereafter no further purchases were made, though new settlers continued to arrive. Without the Penns' permission, moreover, people from New York settled up the Schuylkill River and on the "Minisink Lands" along the

95

upper Delaware, where they occupied choice lands outside the area of the 1718 purchase. Not until 1727, when William Penn's three sons became the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, was Logan able to deal with these problems. He then sent agents to settle affairs in the Minisink country. This undertaking was not very successful, however; so, since the trespassers needed to be brought under Pennsylvania control and because more land was needed for settlers, Logan urged the new Proprietors to come to America to meet the Indians and make new purchases.

Thomas Penn, second of the three sons, arrived in August, 1732, and his older brother John about two years later. Within a few weeks of Thomas Penn's arrival, Sasoonan and his people agreed to sell the Schuylkill lands. The lands up the Delaware, to which Logan then turned, proved a more troublesome matter, about which discussions went on for five years.

Nutimus and his band, the Delaware Indians who lived about the "Forks of Delaware" (Northampton County), were originally from New Jersey and had made no previous land sales to the Penns. Nutimus was related to the Indians previously resident at the "Forks," however, and had lived there himself for several years. Nutimus met Thomas Penn in June, 1733; they exchanged presents, as was customary at Indian treaties, and Nutimus expressed the hope that the peace established by William Penn might continue. However, neither then nor a year later when they met again at Durham did Nutimus show any inclination to sell his land claims.

The Proprietors and Logan then began to press the matter, and at Pennsbury, in May, 1735, they laid before Nutimus evidence that the "Forks" country had been sold before he and his band had settled there. In 1686, they told him, the Indians had sold William Penn a tract of land that, beginning at the present Wrightstown, Bucks County, was to extend back as far as a man could go in a day and a half. The measurement, not very exact at best, apparently had not been made; but since the two-day depth of the 1685 purchase had been measured as about seventy miles, it might be assumed that the 1686 tract would extend at least

Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Lappawinzoe (or Lapawinso), one of the Delawares who signed the Walking Purchase treaty, from the portrait by Gustavus Hesselius.

fifty miles, or about to the Blue Mountain. Only part of this, obviously, had been covered by the general deed of 1718.

Nutimus objected, no doubt truthfully, that he knew nothing of the 1686 deed which he was now asked to approve; but since he had been living in New Jersey at that time, this did not seem to the Penns any real obstacle. They therefore had some of the "Forks" land surveyed for sale, opened part of it to settlers, and reserved for themselves a 6,500-acre "Indian Tract Manor" on which the Indians might continue to live. They arranged moreover for the day-and-a-half walk to be measured out and hired men to mark and clear the way for the walkers.

Even then Nutimus did not immediately release his claims. On the contrary, Logan heard that he was planning to ask the more powerful Six Nations Indians for help, and took prompt steps to prevent such an alliance. When Six Nations leaders came to Philadelphia in 1736 to

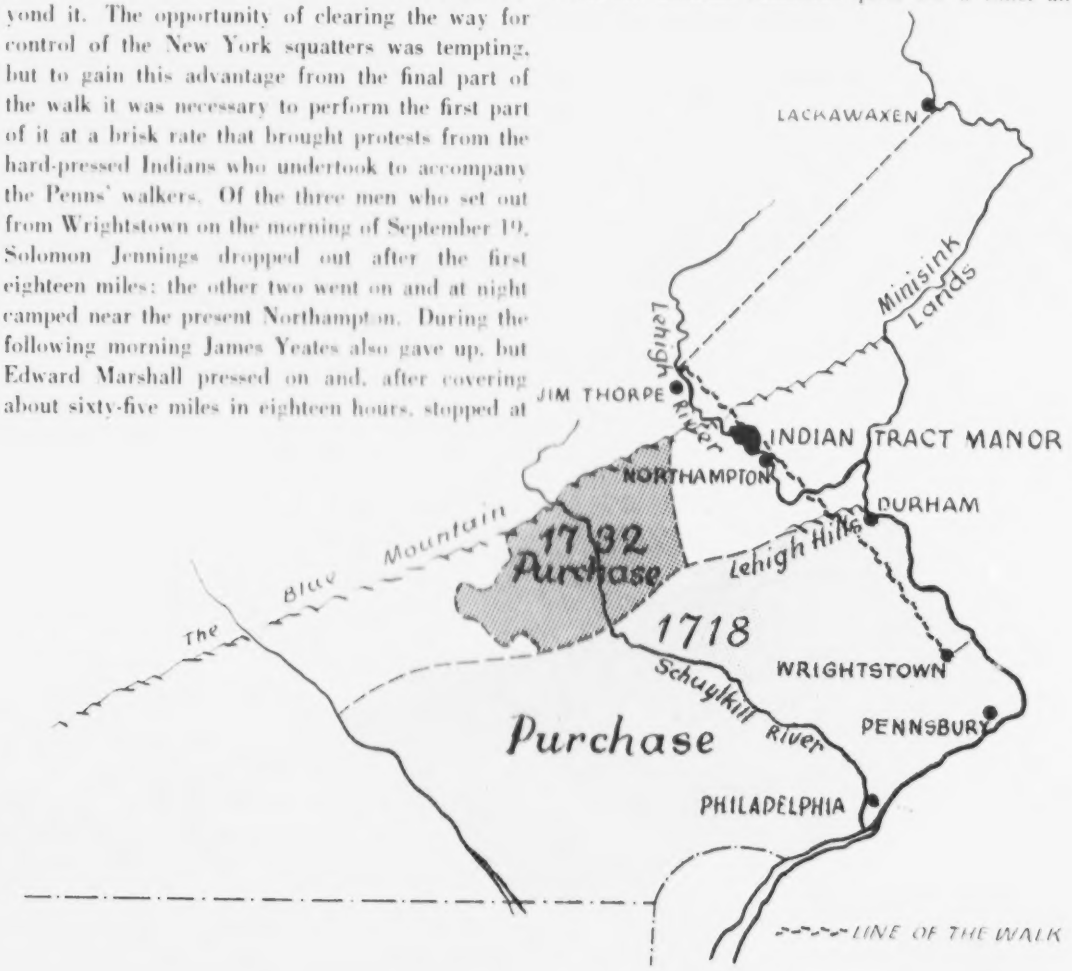
95

sell their claims to lands on the lower Susquehanna, Logan also drew up a second deed signed on October 25, by which these Indians gave up any further interest in southeastern Pennsylvania, including the "Forks" country. Then, finally, the "Forks" Indians came to terms; and on August 25, 1737, four of their leaders, Manawkyhickon, Lappawinzoe, Teeshacomin, and Nootamis (or Nutimus) signed a deed confirming the sale of 1686.

Now ready to measure this purchase, Logan hired men to make the walk. By this time it had occurred to someone that if this measurement could be stretched far enough the 1686 grant could be made to take in not only the "Forks" country below the Blue Mountain but also the Minisink lands beyond it. The opportunity of clearing the way for control of the New York squatters was tempting, but to gain this advantage from the final part of the walk it was necessary to perform the first part of it at a brisk rate that brought protests from the hard-pressed Indians who undertook to accompany the Penns' walkers. Of the three men who set out from Wrightstown on the morning of September 19, Solomon Jennings dropped out after the first eighteen miles; the other two went on and at night camped near the present Northampton. During the following morning James Yeates also gave up, but Edward Marshall pressed on and, after covering about sixty-five miles in eighteen hours, stopped at a point somewhere east or north of the present Jim Thorpe.

The limits of the purchase were then marked by a line, run at right angles to the direction of the walk, which struck the Delaware River near the present Lackawaxen; and because of the curves of the river this added to the purchase a great extent of country north of the Blue Mountain. Aside from the Minisink lands, however, the land beyond the mountain was then of little interest; in actual practice, for purposes of land grants and settlement, the "Walking Purchase" ended at the Blue Mountain.

Despite their complaints about the "Walk" itself, the Indians remained quiet for a time, and



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

James Logan (1674-1751), who came to Pennsylvania as William Penn's secretary in 1699 and remained as agent of the Proprietors. This portrait is based on an original by Gustavus Hesselius.

on November 3, 1733, Nutimus visited Philadelphia and exchanged gifts with the Governor. About two years later, however, he and other Indians signed complaining letters to Pennsylvania officials and threatened to seek the help of neighboring tribes to defend their lands. These letters certainly were written by white men, who may have encouraged the protests. Logan, taking no chances, called on the Six Nations to stand by the agreement they had made in 1736. In fact these Indians went far beyond that—too far, indeed—and at Philadelphia in 1742 one of their leaders, in a loud and threatening speech, told Nutimus that the Delawares had no land left and ordered them off what they had sold.

But the thing that more than any other gave the "Walking Purchase" its bad reputation took place twenty years after the event. When, during the French and Indian War, Indian war parties attacked Pennsylvania settlers, groups opposed to the Proprietary government charged that this hostility was a result of the "Walking Purchase." This explanation was especially attractive to Quaker politicians, who, criticized for not providing military protection for the settlers, preferred to believe that the real fault lay with William Penn's sons for abandoning their father's Quaker principles. It must be noted, however, that this explanation overlooks the part played by the French in turning the Indians against the English, the fact that the Indians attacked other colonies as well as Pennsylvania, and the fact that the "Walking Purchase" had been negotiated by William Penn's secretary, himself a Quaker.

To embarrass the Proprietors, their political enemies enlisted the help of one of Nutimus' followers, Teedyuscung, an able and imposing man, though unstable and with more than the usual Indian fondness for rum. Teedyuscung accused the Proprietors of fraud, and his charges then were reported to the King, who ordered an investigation. Like the original "Walking Purchase" negotiations, this investigation dragged on for some time. In 1762, finally, when the matter came to a hearing, Teedyuscung withdrew his charges; so the case never was decided on its merits. Teedyuscung meanwhile had illustrated his own confused notions of land ownership by offering to sell the Penns' "Indian Tract Manor" to a white settler.

It was in consequence of this political quarrel that most of the known accounts of the "Walking Purchase" were written, to support one or the other of two contradictory views; and these biased stories are in turn responsible both for a widespread popular interest in the incident and for a great deal of confusion concerning it. In spite of its faults, some of which were almost unavoidable in dealings between white men and Indians, the "Walking Purchase" compares favorably with the treatment of Indians in most of the colonies; and the later concern about its fairness was in part at least a tribute to the high standard of justice and the lasting influence of William Penn.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1972. Second edition. Text by William A. Hunter; illustration and map by William Rohrbeck; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.

Albert Gallatin

Master of Finance

ALBERT GALLATIN was one of the most important and influential men of the early American Republic. Born in Geneva, Switzerland, on January 29, 1761, he was baptized Abraham Alfonse Albert Gallatin. In later years he dropped his two alliterative first names. Through his father Jean Gallatin he was a descendant of a family which had long been prominent in the Duchy of Savoy. After the city of Geneva established its independence in 1536, the Gallatins had an almost unbroken succession of that city's councillors and great lords. Young Albert was left an orphan at nine when his mother Sophie Albertine (Rolaz du Rosey) Gallatin died, and he was raised by a distant relative, Mlle. Catherine Pictet, a kindly woman who won her ward's lasting gratitude. The combination of a distinguished heritage, an enlightened Geneva, and an excellent education at his city's Academy produced the refined, polished young gentleman who by 1779 should have been ready to chose a profession. But what could a young aristocrat much influenced by the various doctrines of freedom do? He refused his grandmother's offer to obtain for him a commission as a lieutenant colonel in the mercenary troops which her friend the Landgrave of Hesse was raising for George III to send to America. From all sides he felt pressures to enter professions for which he did not feel suited. That was the main reason which sent him and a friend fleeing to "the land of freedom" a few weeks before his nineteenth birthday. After a tiresome voyage, they landed in Massachusetts in 1780. Although Gallatin had earlier refused to fight against American freedom, he had come to the new land for his own liberty; and he brought with him not ammunition to fight with, but tea to sell! The patriot had not yet emerged.

At Boston, he met M. Savary, the representative of a firm in Lyons, France, which had a claim against Virginia. He joined Savary as a companion and interpreter and traveled with him to Philadelphia, where they were bitten by the bug of land speculation. Savary bought land warrants for 120,000 acres adjoining the "Washington bottom lands" on the south side of the Ohio River, and gave one-quarter, later one-half, share in the enterprise to young Gallatin on the condition that he give his personal attention to the land's development until his twenty-fifth birthday (January 29, 1786), when his inheritance would allow him to pay for his shares.

In the spring of 1781, Gallatin and a small

exploring party crossed the Alleghenies and established a temporary headquarters and store at Clare's Farm on the Monongahela River in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. A little while later he decided on the site of his western Pennsylvania home, "Friendship Hill." The first part of his mansion near New Geneva was completed by 1789, when Gallatin brought his first wife, Sophia Allegre of Richmond, Virginia, to his sylvan retreat. Life in the wilderness was unkind to her and within a few months she was dead. Today her grave may be seen on the grounds of "Friendship Hill." Besides land speculation, Gallatin had other economic interests in Fayette County. Prime among these was a glass factory he had built in 1796. This was the first factory of its kind west of the Allegheny Mountains.

The urbane Gallatin was never a very successful land speculator, nor a good farmer, and the rustic life began to pall on him. His place of residence, however, and his superior talents marked him as a leader of the homespun democracy of western Pennsylvania. He made his political debut in September, 1788, as a member of a conference that met in Harrisburg to consider the ways and means for revising the United States Constitution, which Pennsylvania had ratified the previous December. Gallatin probably was the most radically minded individual there. In a speech he made at the meeting, he conceded the inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation, but attacked the vagueness and the centralizing features of the Constitution. He prepared a set of resolutions which called for a much weaker federal government. His proposals were much too extreme for most of the delegates, who proceeded to modify them during the remaining days of the meeting. Finally they drew up a petition which called upon the Pennsylvania legislature to request Congress to summon, "at the earliest opportunity," a Convention with powers to amend the Constitution. Further, twelve amendments were suggested, including four which embodied earlier ones made by Gallatin: Congress's powers should be limited to those stated in the Constitution, there should be one representative for each 20,000 persons, election of Congressmen should be controlled by the Constitution, not by Congress itself, and Congress should be able to assess, levy, and collect the direct-tax quota of any state that did not promptly furnish its quota.

The Pennsylvania legislature never acted on the meeting's suggestions, and although the "Bill of Rights" added to the Constitution contained two amendments that paralleled suggestions made at Harrisburg, these were along lines similar to those previously proposed by the ratifying conventions in several states. Therefore, the meeting can be counted as one among a number of belated and futile attempts to bring about revision of the Constitution made by groups which had earlier opposed its ratification.

Gallatin next entered public service in the winter of 1789-1790, when he sat in the convention that revised the Pennsylvania Constitution. At this meeting he engaged in lively debates on suffrage, representation, taxation, and the judiciary. In October, 1790, he was elected to his second public office as a representative from Fayette County to the State legislature. He was reelected to that office without contest in 1791 and 1792. His greatest service to the State, foretelling his service to the nation, was in the field of financial legislation. Hating, from his boyhood, all forms of debt, he devoted much time to figuring out ways in which to reduce the public debt. As part of his fiscal policy he was also instrumental in obtaining a charter for the Bank of Pennsylvania.

In 1793, when a new United States Senator was to be chosen, Gallatin although a Democratic-Republican was elected, 55-34, by the Federalist-dominated State legislature to represent the Commonwealth in the Third Congress. The Federalists in Congress, however, were not as well disposed to Gallatin as were their brethren in Pennsylvania, and for political reasons they denied him his seat in the Senate by vote of 14-12. They claimed that he had not been an American citizen for the nine years prescribed by the Constitution. After this defeat Gallatin sold his western lands to Robert Morris for 1,000 pounds, Pennsylvania money, payable (but not paid) in three yearly installments, and he and his second wife, Hannah Nicholson of New York, whom he had married November 1, 1794, returned home to "Friendship Hill."

During the time that he was absent from his home much had happened. The federal government's decision to collect the taxes on whiskey under Alexander Hamilton's excise bill of 1791 had provoked a wave of discontent that spread among the farmers in the western part of the State. David Bradford, whose Washington,

Pennsylvania, house is now owned by the Commonwealth, stirred the disgruntled farmers to action. They held angry meetings, raised a militia, terrorized Pittsburgh, and forced revenue officers to flee for their lives.

With superb courage Gallatin moved into this superheated atmosphere. He had his doubts about the constitutionality of the whiskey levy, but his chief objection to it was that it "will bear hard upon the honest and industrious citizens whilst the wealthy and conniving parts of the community will avoid payments by stratagems." Although not believing in the law, he preached for peaceable submission to it. On August 14, 1794, he spoke to a rally of the farmers' delegates at Parkinson's Ferry; and later in the month, at a meeting held in a hastily-built shed in Brownsville, his reasoned, logical arguments convinced a number of the members of the rebel committee, even the firebrand Bradford, to vote to recommend that their followers peacefully submit to the law. After the meeting adjourned, a handful of diehard spectators continued to loiter about the meeting place and to talk vaguely about waylaying Gallatin as he left Brownsville, but with the desertion of Bradford they lacked resolution, and Gallatin safely returned home.

During the two weeks after the meeting Gallatin traveled through Fayette County urging people to submit to the law, and to present themselves at their polling places on September 11, when all adult male citizens would receive a pardon for past offenses upon promising good conduct in the future. It can almost be said that Gallatin saved western Pennsylvania from civil war. When the Federal troops under the command of Governor Henry Lee of Virginia arrived to put down the rebellion, they found, instead of "embattled farmers" to subdue, only a few flagrant lawbreakers who were taken back to Philadelphia for trial. Hamilton, who had led the troops as far as Pittsburgh, remained in that city trying to prove that Gallatin had helped to cause the disturbance. No proof was found, but for the rest of his life his political enemies persisted in reviving the charge that Gallatin was the chief instigator of the Whiskey Rebellion.

In the autumn of 1794, the grateful citizens of western Pennsylvania, greatly pleased with the role he played in settling the insurrection, elected him to the federal House of Representatives. Re-elected twice, he served from 1795 to 1801. In Congress he quite naturally insisted upon a strict accounting of the Treasury to Congress, and in 1800 he was instrumental in steering through the House legislation which required the Secretary of the Treasury to make a yearly accounting of funds to the Congress.

FRIENDSHIP HILL

When James Madison and William Branch Giles retired from the House in 1797, Gallatin became the acknowledged leader of the Democratic-Republican faction in the House. His last days in Congress were spent leading the fight in the House for the selection of Jefferson as President over Aaron Burr. With Jefferson's victory, it was only natural that Gallatin as a specialist in financial matters should be appointed Secretary of the Treasury. He held that office longer than any other man in American history, serving from 1801 to 1814. Once in office, he vigorously attacked the public debt, and through careful management of the country's finances he was able to reduce the debt materially until the War of 1812 made this policy impossible.

After 1811, it became increasingly unpleasant for him to remain as Secretary of the Treasury. It was with a feeling of great relief that in May, 1813, at the request of President Madison, he went to Russia to study the details of a Russian offer to mediate Anglo-American differences. He stayed in Russia several months, but nothing came of the Russian offer. In 1814, he was one of the five American commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Ghent which ended the war. It was now that he was officially replaced as Secretary of the Treasury.

After the Treaty was signed, he revisited Geneva for the first time in thirty-five years. Returning to America in 1816, he accepted the post of American minister to France, an office which he held for seven years. In 1823, he once again returned to America, and he and his family lived a year in the new stone mansion built at "Friendship Hill" under the supervision of his son Albert, Jr., while the rest of the family was in Europe. It was during this stay that Lafayette, on his triumphal tour of the United States, visited the Gallatins at their estate overlooking the Monongahela.

Gallatin originally intended to live out his days as a gentleman farmer, but he yielded to his family's wish that they return to city life, and in 1826 he accepted an appointment as American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Returning from London the next year, he retired from public life and settled in New York City. There in 1831 at the urging of his friend John Jacob Astor he became the president of the new National (later Gallatin) Bank, a post he held until 1839. In 1832 he broke his long tie with Pennsylvania when he sold his home "Friendship Hill" to a Frenchman whom he had met in Paris.

His later years in New York were given over to benevolent and intellectual attainments. He was one of the founders of the University of the City of New York and an early president of the New York Historical Society. It was also during his years in New York that he undertook the studies of the American Indian which brought him the title of "the father of American ethnology." He remained active and vigorous until his 87th year. The shock of the death of his wife in 1849 seriously weakened him, and on August 12, 1849, he died at the country home of his daughter Frances at Astoria, Long Island. He was 88 years old when he went on to join his generation, the founders of the American Republic, all of whom he had outlived.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1962. Text by Irwin Richman; illustrations by William Rohrbeck; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more, the price is three cents each.

102

William Penn in Pennsylvania

William Penn in 1696, by Francis Place.

WHEN William Penn left England on his first voyage to Pennsylvania, his head was full of visions and hopes for this new Land of Promise "six hundred miles nearer the sun." He wanted to see if he and his fellow Quakers could establish here a new society based on wider freedoms than the Old World knew; and he wanted also to see whether it was true, as he thought, that men and women were better and happier for this freedom. Believing good government to be part of God's plan for mankind, he called his venture a Holy Experiment.

He was in Pennsylvania only three and a half years. But from 1681, when he received the King's charter at the age of thirty-seven, to 1718, when he died, Pennsylvania was one of his chief preoccupations. The growth and well-being of his colony was based on a tradition of *religious toleration* and *freedom under law*, fundamental principles of American civil life. Thomas Jefferson called Penn "the greatest law-giver the world has produced."

Governor William Penn came to North America in 1682 and stayed for two years, returning only for another short stay from 1699 to 1701. Illness, financial worries, and threats to Pennsylvania's charter kept him from the tranquil enjoyment of his beautiful home on the Delaware River. Since he was in no position to take immediate charge of the government, it is remarkable that he was able to exert the influence he did on the development of the colony.

Penn was born on October 24, 1644. His father was a famous English admiral, Sir William Penn. Young William grew up during a stormy time of revolution and reaction in England. For a short time, he was a soldier, and so successful a one that he thought of making a career in the army. But, seeing the effects of violence and persecution, he was led to dream of a society in which war should have no place, and in which a man might freely worship according to his own conscience. He joined the Society of Friends (the Quakers), who were pacifists, and threw his energies with theirs into political battles for freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and the right of trial by jury.

In 1681 there came a golden opportunity to make his dreams come true. King Charles II, out of "regard to the memorie and meritts of his late father," gave the younger Penn a huge tract of land in North America and named it, in honor of the Admiral, "Pennsilvania," or Penn's Woods.

The new proprietor advertised for settlers—"adventurers" he called them: farmers, day laborers, carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, and, in addition, merchants who understood commerce, and men of administrative capacity to set the new community on its feet.

At the same time, to reassure the Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch settlers who were already in the Province, and who provided a sturdy base for its coming population, he sent letters bidding them not to be disturbed at the change of government. He was not a grasping and tyrannical governor, he said; and he promised them freedom: "You shall be governed by laws of your own making. . . ."

Penn delayed his departure for the New World for more than a year. He hoped to persuade his friend the Duke of York (soon to become King James II) to grant him title to the three counties of Delaware, lying south of Penn's original grant, which would guarantee an outlet to the sea. In late August, 1682, the Duke transferred his title to Penn, and within a few days Penn left for America. Sailing on a ship that was appropriately named the "Welcome," he made the voyage in comparatively good time. He arrived at New Castle in northern Delaware, October 27, 1682, less than two months after leaving England. The next day he

sailed farther up the river to Upland, the most populous town in what became Pennsylvania. He soon renamed the town Chester, for the English city of the same name.

William Penn's first few weeks in the colony were busy ones indeed. One of the matters which he had to attend to right away was the arranging of a conference with Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, on the boundary disputes between their two colonies. The charters granted to Penn and to Lord Baltimore were hopelessly in conflict. Lord Baltimore asserted that his charter properly included Delaware, and he also claimed so large a portion of southern Pennsylvania that the site chosen for Philadelphia would have gone to Maryland. Penn never succeeded in settling this dispute during his lifetime, and in fact it was never settled by anyone until the surveying of the Mason-Dixon line in 1763.

The boundary question did not stop Penn from taking great pride in the brand-new town of Philadelphia, which he inspected soon after landing at Chester. While Penn had been in England his agents had chosen the site for the new town and had laid it out in accordance with his directions. Penn, a man of classical learning, had called it Philadelphia, a name which he interpreted to mean "the city of brotherly love." Now, little more than a year old, the town was already beginning to show signs of the prosperity and culture that were to give it first rank among American cities in the later colonial period. Penn himself, describing his impressions of his first visit to the colony, hailed the new city with this eloquent passage: "And thou, *Philadelphia*, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth. . . ." For the time being, however, Penn was not able to linger at Philadelphia; with his chief assistants he hurried down the river to New Castle for the opening of the first provincial court. He invited all those settlers with questions about land titles to be present at the next session of the court, and announced that until a provincial legislature could meet, the colonists would be governed by the laws of the province of New York wherever these did not conflict with English law.

In the area of Indian relations, Penn's Quaker principles were plainly stamped onto the life of the colony. Almost immediately after arriving, despite his multitude of other duties, he took steps to establish peaceful relations with the Indians. Although he had accepted title to his land from the English King, Penn respected the rights of the bronze-skinned people who had been living on it. He was careful to acquire the land from them by purchase, and to this end he and his agents held frequent conferences with the local Delaware chiefs and their retinue. He has described these scenes: the chief seated in the center, his council seated in a half-moon behind him, and beyond that another half-moon composed of all the other Indians of the community. Proceedings on both sides were grave and courteous. It was Penn's courtesy on these occasions, combined with his unfailing sense of fair play, that won the Indians' respect and affection. He left behind him a tradition of good feeling that saved Pennsylvania for seventy years from the disaster of an Indian war.

The painter Benjamin West has immortalized a treaty of friendship which, according to tradition, Penn made with the renowned Delaware chief Tamanend soon after his arrival in 1682. Common belief has this treaty—one which Voltaire said was "never sworn to and never broken"—taking place under the "Treaty Elm" at Shackamaxon, half a mile north of the center of Philadelphia. Whether the story is literally true or not, it does symbolize the determination of the peace-loving Quakers to deal justly with their neighbors.

Three weeks after his arrival Penn called for an election of representatives to the first provincial Assembly, which would meet with him in Chester early in December. These men convened on December 4 and stayed in session four days—long enough to pass several laws and to grant Pennsylvania citizenship both to the Delaware residents and to the few Swedes, Finns, and Dutchmen who had come to the area before the start of English colonization. This was the first of four sessions of the Assembly held during Penn's brief stay in North America, and the laws passed during those sessions embodied the humanitarian and tolerant spirit of Penn and his fellow Quakers.

Among the laws passed by the Assembly in 1682-83 were several which were accorded special status. These could not be changed except by agreement of the governor and six-sevenths of the members of the legislature. Heading the list of these fundamental statutes was Penn's law protecting freedom of conscience. Under this guarantee thousands of members of unpopular Christian sects were able to escape from the persecutions of the Old World. Unlike many people who have suffered restrictions on their freedoms, the Quakers had no wish to impose similar restrictions on others

The Slate Roof House, Penn's residence in Philadelphia, 1700; it was demolished in 1868.

once they had the power. The criminal code adopted by Penn and the Assembly was also indicative of the Quakers' idealism. Only two crimes, murder and treason, were made punishable by death. At that time the laws in England prescribed the death penalty for such offenses as housebreaking, highway robbery, and all other robberies of more than one shilling.

Between law-making, Indian councils, land sales, and boundary disputes, Penn's stay in America was a strenuous one. His wife Gulielma had stayed behind in England with their children, the plan being that they would join Penn in the colony as soon as possible. But Gulielma was destined never to cross the ocean. In 1684 Penn learned that Lord Baltimore was on his way back to England and would try to persuade the King to give Maryland the lands that were in dispute between the two colonies. Penn knew that he must also go back if he were not to lose a large portion of his land. A remark by one of Lord Baltimore's agents—that Penn's beloved Philadelphia was "one of the prettiest towns in Maryland"—could not have made Penn feel very happy. In August of 1684 he hurriedly left for England to protect his colony's interests. He was not to return for fifteen years.

The boundary quarrel dragged on interminably, and, although Penn was able to prevent a transfer of the disputed lands to Maryland, he did not succeed in gaining a clear title to them himself. Meanwhile, other events began to overshadow this argument. Penn's benefactor, James II, the former Duke of York, became King in 1685 and immediately began to make enemies with his harsh policies. Although he disagreed with the King on many points, and favored a much greater degree of popular rule than James would permit, Penn stayed loyal to their friendship. As a result, when the King's troubled reign was abruptly ended by the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, Penn came under suspicion from the new rulers, William and Mary. For nearly six years he was either in prison or in hiding. Then in 1694, when he had finally succeeded in clearing his name, his beloved wife Gulielma died after a lingering illness. That left Penn with the care of their three children as well as with pressing financial problems. Two years later he was married again, this time to Hannah Callowhill, an attractive and devout Quaker woman more than twenty-five years younger than himself. When next he returned to Pennsylvania it would be with Hannah.

Finally, Penn's desire to see the colony once again was reinforced by the demands of the British government. The Board of Trade, which supervised provincial affairs, had heard reports that the Pennsylvania government, in Penn's absence, was abetting the activities of pirates who preyed on ships off the Atlantic coast. Penn promised to return at once to look into the reports and to take swift action if it seemed to be justified. He landed at Philadelphia in early December of 1699, accompanied by Hannah and his grown daughter by the earlier marriage, Letitia. The piracy question was disposed of with little difficulty, and Penn was able to view with pride (and perhaps some bewilderment) the other changes in the colony. Philadelphia, "named before thou wert born," was a bustling little city with a population second only to Boston's in all of the New World. Pennsylvania was exporting such raw materials as lumber, furs, hemp, tobacco, iron, and copper and receiving high-quality British manufac-

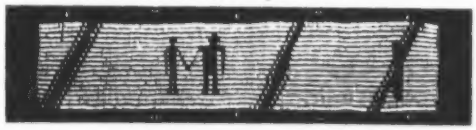
tured goods in exchange. The population of the colony as a whole was increasing so fast that, a year after his arrival, Penn obtained a deed from the Iroquois, or "Five Nations," for the lands adjoining the Susquehanna River that had belonged to the Susquehanna Indians.

As often as official business allowed, Penn retreated to the wilderness home he had created for his family. Pennsbury Manor was across the Delaware River from the present city of Trenton, New Jersey, some twenty-four miles north of Philadelphia. Here, in a home that was set in heavy woods and was conveniently accessible only by water, Penn spent many happy days. It was a large house, full of servants, handsome furniture, and good things for the dining table —for Penn, though deeply religious, was not an ascetic. He and his wife looked after the affairs of the house. From Pennsbury, as his letters disclose, he sent to town for such things as bricks, lime, locks, and nails, while she ordered chocolate, flour, bacon, coffee, cornmeal and (on one occasion) a "parlor bell." Such commodities were delivered by flatboat up the Delaware River. When they were not living at Pennsbury, the family stayed at the Slate Roof House, an ample Philadelphia dwelling owned by Samuel Carpenter. It was in this house that his son John Penn was born on January 29, 1700. The only one of Penn's children to be born in North America, John always carried the nickname of "the American."

Perhaps the most important achievement of William Penn's second stay in the colony was the adoption of a new frame of government, the Charter of Privileges, in October, 1701. This constitution, which lasted three-quarters of a century, or until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, was a step in the direction of self-government for the colony. Although the governor retained his right to veto legislation, the elected Assembly gained the power to initiate bills, rather than merely to approve or reject those submitted to it by the governor and his council. The bell cast in 1751 to mark the fiftieth anniversity of the Charter of Privileges was engraved with the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," from the Book of Leviticus, Chapter 25, Verse 10. Today known as the Liberty Bell, it hangs in Independence Hall in Philadelphia to commemorate the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

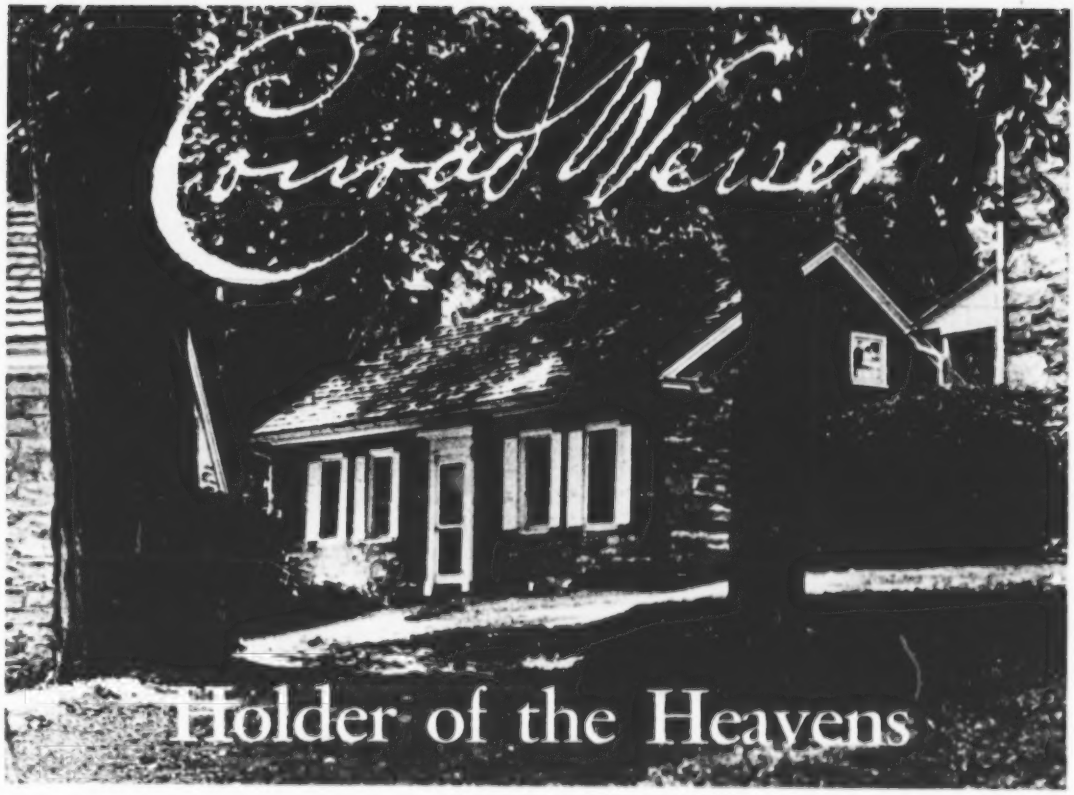
Penn, during this visit, was concerned not only with the internal government of Pennsylvania but with the North American colonies as a whole. At a meeting with Governor Bellomont of New York and Governor Nicholson of Virginia in 1700 he got his brother officials to agree on a set of proposals for greatly increased co-operation among all the colonies. These plans were sent to the Board of Trade in London, but nothing was done about them. Unity among the colonies did not come until they had cut loose from Britain.

As on his first visit, Penn found himself unable to stay as long as he would have liked in the colony. A determined movement was on foot in Parliament to place Pennsylvania under the direct control of the Crown. Once again Penn had to hurry back to England. He sailed in November, 1701, shortly after he had signed the Charter of Privileges. Before leaving he also granted the request of the inhabitants of Delaware that they be allowed to separate from Pennsylvania. Although Penn succeeded in retaining his colony, the remainder of his life was filled with much unhappiness. One of his close associates had defrauded him of a vast amount of money, and Penn was tied up for years in the litigation that arose from this theft. By the time he emerged from this ordeal he was an elderly man whose health, especially after a severe stroke in 1712, would not permit another ocean voyage. He died on July 30, 1718, at the age of seventy-three. Except for two brief visits of less than two years each, William Penn had never had a chance to enjoy the colony for which he, more than anyone else, was responsible.



Wampum belt of friendship presented to Penn by Indians in a treaty. It is made of white and purple beads fashioned from clam shells.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1975. Text by Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace and James P. O'Brien; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.



Conrad Weiser's home at Womelsdorf, open to the public.

CONRAD WEISER'S picturesque career as farmer, traveler, churchman, county judge, diplomat, soldier, and member for a time of the Ephrata monastic community, reflects so many facets of early American life that his most important role, that of keeper of the peace, is apt to be forgotten. For many years he was the key to good relations between white men and Indians in Pennsylvania. The Indians called him *Tarachiawagon*, the "Holder of the Heavens." It might be said that he held up the sky (by keeping off an Indian war) for the colonists as well.

It was this role as a peacemaker that made him so important in the history of our Commonwealth and nation.

It is easy to see how the role came to him. Born in the village of Affstät in Württemberg, Germany, November 2, 1696, he was brought by his father with others of the Weiser family to New York in 1710. Conrad spent the winter and spring of 1712-13 in the Mohawk Valley among the Six Nations, or Iroquois Confederacy or League, as an adopted son of Chief Quaynant. The knowledge he gained there of the language, customs, and statesmanship of the Iroquois Confederacy (the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora nations) prepared him for his later career as an Indian interpreter and ambassador.

From the Mohawk Valley in 1729 he brought his German wife, Ann Eve, and their children to Pennsylvania. They settled at the foot of Eagle Peak, at what is now the town of Womelsdorf, mid-way between Reading and Lebanon. There, in the Tulpehocken Valley, he prospered as farmer and tanner. He built a stone house, brought up a large family (he and Ann Eve had fourteen children in all), was appointed Justice of the Lancaster County courts, and, when Berks County was erected in 1752, became its first President Judge. For

107

many years he was the foremost figure in the region.

In official circles in Philadelphia he was early known as the man who understood Indians. James Logan, Provincial Secretary, used Weiser's knowledge of the Iroquois Confederacy to work out a good Indian policy for the colony.

To understand the significance of this new policy, it is necessary first to see the dangers it was intended to avert.

Pennsylvania was at that time (the early eighteenth century) governed by Quakers, most of whom were strict pacifists determined to avoid the use of military force even in self-defense. Weiser and Logan, on the other hand, thought a strong hand was needed to keep the peace on Pennsylvania's borders. They saw disturbing signs on the frontier. Differences between Indians and white men sometimes led to bloodshed. It was feared that hotheads on either side, in the absence of any military force to restrain them, might use these incidents to rouse their people and incite them to massacre and war.

The danger lay in two areas. The Delaware and Shawnee Indians in eastern Pennsylvania, although not forgetful of the happy relations they had once enjoyed with William Penn, were growing restless as they found themselves being pushed out of their home territories by advancing settlements. An even graver danger seemed to lie in the Susquehanna Valley. In this region large bands of Indian refugees from the south, moving slowly northward to join the Iroquois in upstate New York, were establishing temporary colonies as they went.

Weiser and Logan knew these refugee colonies to be sponsored by the Iroquois. Among the latter it was a tradition, fortified by the legend of their culture heroes Dekanawidah and Hiawatha, that Indians of other nations who desired the Confederacy's protection should be received and adopted. Accordingly, various bands of Indians, the remnants of uprooted nations, were being brought into the League "on the cradl board," as their phrase ran. Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, Conoys, and Tuteloes, at different times sent agents to Onondaga (the Iroquois capital) to ask permission, which they received, to move north through Pennsylvania.

The Iroquois were glad to use these refugees as a means of saving the Susquehanna Valley as long as possible for the Indian race. At the same time, they were aware that the migrations posed an acute danger of violent clashes with neighboring white men. Above all the Iroquois wanted to maintain the friendly relations William Penn had established with their fathers.

To maintain this diplomatic policy—keeping good relations both with their Indian colonies and with "Brother Onas," that is Pennsylvania — the Onondaga Council, highest governing body of the Confederacy, dispatched a deputy to embody Iroquois authority over Pennsylvania's Indians. He was to see that they neither suffered nor inflicted serious harm. This powerful official, when Conrad Weiser came to Pennsylvania, was known among the Delawares as *Shikellamy* [Shi-KELL-a-mee], "Our Enlightener."

The new Indian policy which Weiser helped to formulate was, in a word, to recognize Iroquois authority over the Indians within Pennsylvania's borders. By this means, it was hoped, the settlers and traders on the frontiers would receive the firm protection that Quaker principles forbade.

In theory the policy was sound. But could it be administered? In the state of race tension rising in the woods, could there be found men of sufficient integrity and stature to hold the confidence of both races while conducting delicate negotiations like those in a Cold War?

The Iroquois had already appointed Shikellamy, who held the respect of Indians and white men alike. Pennsylvania appointed Conrad Weiser. He was known to get along well with some of the Mohawks—but what about his standing with the Iroquois as a whole and the famed Onondaga Council?

It was the answer given to that question that made his first journey to Onondaga in 1737 so important. It showed the Iroquois that he had the qualities they most admired in a man: truthfulness, courage, and utter devotion, even to the point of death, to the task he had in hand.

On that journey he was commissioned by Pennsylvania to bear an invitation from the government of Virginia to the Onondaga Council to send delegates to a peace conference at Williamsburg. The matter was urgent because Virginia was an ally of the Catawbas, with whom the Iroquois were at war. Virginia was in danger of being drawn into a war with the

163

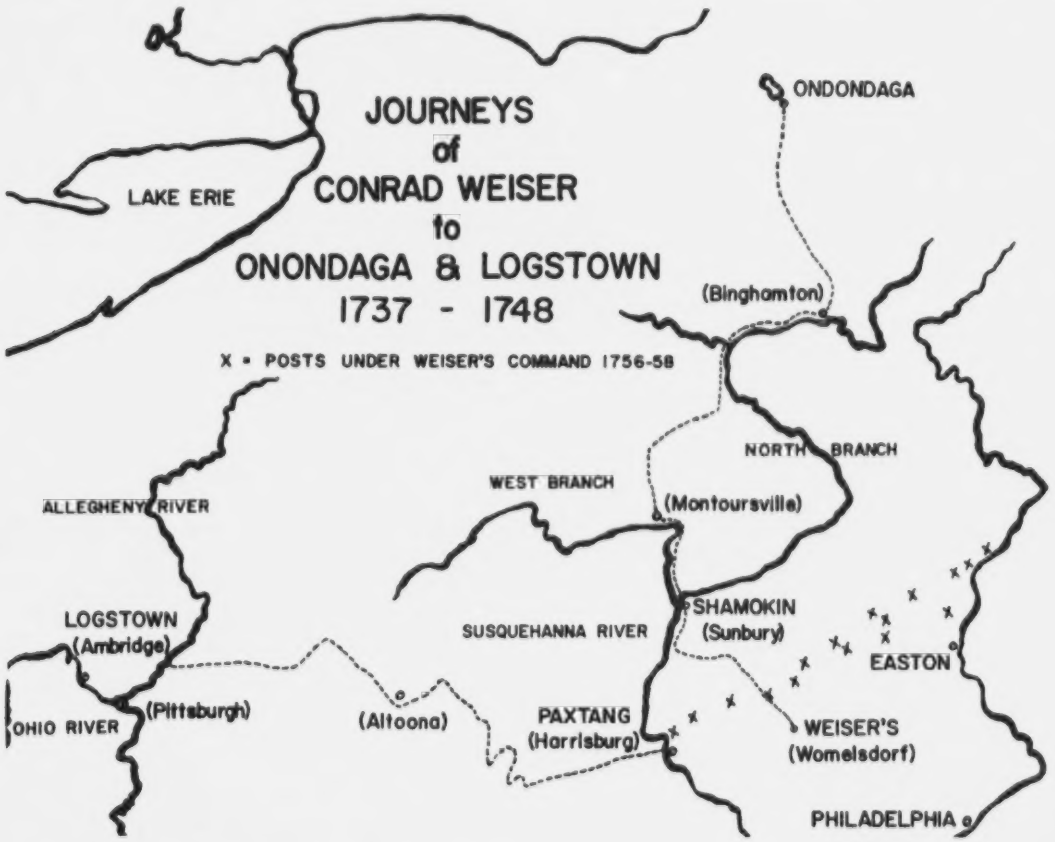
Iroquois which might bring Pennsylvania in too. Conrad Weiser was instructed to make all speed in order to reach Onondaga in time to halt Iroquois war parties scheduled to set out in the spring.

He left home on February 27, 1737. After crossing the Blue Mountain by Indian path and joining up with Shikellamy, he and his party ran into heavy snow. Travel became difficult and dangerous, but, with peace or war at issue, Weiser pressed on. They struggled on foot through snow that was sometimes up to their knees, and climbed cliffs to escape flooded valleys. After six terrible weeks, exhausted, starving (for the Indians they met were themselves without food), Conrad Weiser collapsed in the snow. If it had not been for Shikellamy, he would have died on the trail.

But on April 10 they reached Onondaga. Weiser had sufficient strength to stand before the assembled chiefs and deliver his message, confirming it with a belt of white wampum, symbol of peace. Indian runners were at once dispatched to all parts of the Six Nations country to call off preparations for war.

He emerged from that ordeal an Iroquois hero. When in 1743 he came back to Onondaga, it was to "take the hatchet out of the head of the Six Nations," that is, to make amends for the slaying of some Iroquois travelers by white men in Virginia. He was hailed as *Tarachiawagon*, the "Holder of the Heavens," a title hitherto reserved for the Master of Life, the Great Spirit. Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian leader, trying to convey a sense of the high esteem in which Weiser was held in the Indian world, called him the "Emperor of the Iroquois."

Conrad Weiser was one of Pennsylvania's most noted travelers, whether on horseback, on foot, or by canoe. He made five journeys to the Iroquois homeland: in 1737, 1743, 1745,



1750, and 1751. His most important journey after 1737, however, was one made in 1748 to Logstown, eighteen miles below the Point at Pittsburgh on the Ohio River. He made this trip to "brighten the chain of friendship" with the western Indians and, more specifically, to claim the Ohio-Allegheny country for the English colonies. That this resulted in French counterclaims leading to the French and Indian War is only another way of saying that it was an attempt (ultimately successful) to save the Ohio Valley for the English-speaking people.

He was a man of peace until France's Indian allies, the Delawares and Shawnees, took up the hatchet. They soon defeated General Braddock and began to murder settlers in the Susquehanna Valley. Then, in October, 1755, hearing a rumor that Indians in the French interest had crossed the Susquehanna and were about to attack settlements in the Tulpehocken Valley, Weiser raised a force of men overnight and marched them toward the Blue Mountain.

During the next weeks he organized town guards and posted volunteers at strategic points along the Blue Mountain barrier. Early in 1756 he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. For nearly two years that battalion, under his command, held a line of forts extending from the Susquehanna to the Delaware River, thus preventing the French and their allies from penetrating too deeply into the Province.

Meanwhile, most of the Iroquois remained loyal to the bonds of friendship with Pennsylvania. They kept their refugee colonies quiet and exercised a restraining pressure on the Delawares. Finally, at the Easton peace conference in 1758, at which Conrad Weiser was an interpreter, they made the Delawares drop the hatchet. A few weeks later, the French at the Forks of the Ohio, threatened by the advance of a British army and deprived of their Indian allies, blew up Fort Duquesne and retired.

Conrad Weiser was Berks County's most distinguished citizen during colonial days and, in retrospect, the best loved of Pennsylvania Dutchmen. Although he lived much in the world of affairs, he was at heart deeply religious. For a time he took part in the strange experiment in mystical religion conducted at Ephrata. Later he became the foremost layman of his day in the Lutheran Church in America. He was also a promoter of the great Indian mission (a noble experiment in race relations) which the Moravian Church established in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Weiser's seal from a legal document.

His daughter Maria married Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, "the Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America." Two of his grandsons were among the founders of the United States: Major General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, hero of Brandywine, Germantown, and Yorktown (where his troops made the final assault on the British lines); and Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, Speaker of the House of Representatives in the First and Third Congresses.

On July 13, 1760, Conrad Weiser died at his home in the Tulpehocken Valley. His death was lamented in Indian fashion by an old friend, Seneca George. Addressing himself to white men at Easton in 1761, Seneca George held in his hand a belt of white wampum, with four black streaks, and said, "We . . . are at a great loss and sit in darkness, as well as you, by the death of Conrad Weiser, as since his death we cannot so well understand one another; By this Belt we cover his Body with bark."

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1965. Text by Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

James Buchanan

OF THE MEN who have served as President of the United States, only one has been a native of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. James Buchanan, of Lancaster, elected in 1856 and president for one term, held the office at one of the most critical stages in our nation's history.

President Buchanan had spent forty-two years in public life as State assemblyman, United States representative, minister to Russia, United States senator, secretary of state, and minister to England. His record of political attainment was little help, however, in solving the national dilemma of the 1850's, the slavery issue.

Courtesy National Archives

James Buchanan

Photograph by Matthew Brady, 1858.

The debate about slavery, entwined as it was with the difficult issues of territorial expansion, internal improvements, and the financial condition of the country, colored every problem with which Buchanan dealt as president. Changing conditions of life during the 1850's—the growth of urban population, the increase in immigration, the demand for speculative money, and the rise of the Republican party — created too many areas of conflict and too many groups unwilling or unable to compromise. Buchanan has been severely criticized for his failure to reconcile conflicting ideologies and interests. Solutions which he did attempt, only to be thwarted, have too often been dismissed by his critics. He did manage to avert open warfare, and when he handed the presidency to Abraham Lincoln on March 4, 1861, the office was still unscarred by fraternal bloodshed.

James Buchanan was born on April 23, 1791, at Stony Batter, in Cove Gap, Franklin County. This was an important stopping point on the Philadelphia-to-Pittsburgh road, and his father, James, who came from Ireland in 1783, had established a trading post there. In 1788 he married a Lancaster County girl, Elizabeth Speer. Their son James was the first of their eleven children to survive infancy; for his first fourteen years, he was their only son.

In 1796 the Buchanan family moved to Mercersburg, where young James studied Greek and Latin at the Old Stone Academy. He also assisted in his father's store and developed the meticulous personal bookkeeping which characterized his entire life. In 1807 he entered Dickinson College, Carlisle, which then had forty-two students. Buchanan performed well academically and participated in numerous extra-curricular activities. His skylarking, however, and his arrogant demeanor landed him in trouble and he was dismissed. But he returned.

After graduation in 1809, Buchanan studied law in Lancaster, then the State capital, and was admitted to the bar in 1812. He practiced law and plunged into local politics. He had been raised on his father's strongly Federalist views, and he echoed them. The Lancaster Federalists nominated him for State assemblyman on August 24, 1814, the same day the British were burning the White House and capital during their occupation of Washington. Buchanan and several friends volunteered for duty, and were sent to recruit horses for use at Baltimore. With that he returned home, his military career completed.

The Lancaster district leaned heavily to the Federalists, so Buchanan's election as State assemblyman—to serve at the new capital of Harrisburg—was no surprise. At the end of his second term in 1816, however, he returned to Lancaster, since the policy of the party was to share political offices among its candidates.

In 1819 he became engaged to Ann Coleman, the daughter of a wealthy ironmaster and owner of several furnaces, among them Cornwall and Hopewell. Circumstances led her finally to terminate the engagement. While visiting Philadelphia to recover from the blow, she suddenly took ill and died. The tragedy was heightened by the Colemans' refusal to allow her afflicted suitor to attend the funeral. Although many women were to come for brief periods into Buchanan's life, never again would he come this close to marriage.

In 1820 Buchanan received the Federalist nomination for United States representative from Dauphin, Lebanon, and Lancaster counties, and was easily elected. When he arrived in Washington in 1821, it was still a raw country town; the streets were muddy and full of potholes, accommodations were poor, and reminders of the War of 1812 remained. Yet, it was the center of national politics, and Buchanan took an active part. Painstakingly he built his personal power. In 1824 and 1826 Buchanan was elected to Congress as a Federalist, although now on an "amalgamated" platform which pitched its appeal also to his traditional enemies. The Federalist party had disintegrated, and no longer entered the statewide elections in Pennsylvania. Buchanan's principles combined Democratic and Federalist ideas, and it was easy for him to drift gradually into the Democratic fold. That the powers of the three branches of government, as well as the state and federal governments, must be clearly distinguished and respected was the cornerstone of his political philosophy.

In 1828 he was returned to Congress, this time as a Democrat. In this, his last term as a congressman, he made a notable contribution by defending the ultimate jurisdiction of the U. S. Supreme Court over all cases involving the federal constitution, federal law, and treaties with foreign powers, in opposition to those who wished to deny this power. His was the view that prevailed.

With the approach of the presidential campaign of 1832, Buchanan was rumored as a possible vice-presidential candidate to run with Andrew Jackson on the Democratic ticket. Before rumor could become reality, however, Buchanan was appointed minister to Russia, where he served from 1832 to 1833.

Returning home in November, 1833, he began preparations for a special senatorial election. He lost, but under similar circumstances in 1834 he was elected. (In those days a U. S. senator was elected by the state legislature.) In this re-exposure to Pennsylvania politics, Buchanan, the canny politician, was grateful for his year's absence, for it had been a time of tension between national and Pennsylvania Democrats. He had avoided involvement and was now in a strong position. Buchanan was again elected in the regular senatorial elections of 1836. During this period his family claimed much of his attention, as he found himself responsible for nieces and nephews, invalids and widowed family members. Throughout his life he was to be more than generous in providing medical and educational aid to his family.

In 1842 Buchanan was again elected to the Senate, and in 1844, a presidential election year, his name was mentioned for the Democratic nomination. James Polk won the nomination, was elected, and selected Buchanan as his secretary of state. It was a time of territorial expansion. Buchanan was instrumental in settling the northern boundary of the Oregon territory, which, although a compromise, avoided war with Britain and proved satisfactory to most critics. A boundary dispute with Mexico, however, brought on the Mexican War from 1845 to 1848, when, as a settlement, Mexico ceded large southwestern territories to the United States.

With the end of Polk's administration drawing near, Buchanan again eyed the presidential nomination. Lewis Cass of Michigan received the nomination, however, and was defeated by General Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate.

With the opposition in power, Buchanan retired temporarily from public life. With an increasing number of his family needing his attention, and additional leisure available to him, he purchased Wheatland, a lovely estate west of Lancaster. The life of a country gentleman—gardening, repair of the homestead, and

Courtesy Wheatland

Wheatland, Buchanan's Lancaster home, open March 15 to November 30.

the relaxation of having his family around him —was most pleasing. He became the "Sage of Wheatland." The visits of political friends were unending, and the discussions centering around the Compromise of 1850 profoundly interested Buchanan. He felt that the popular sovereignty clauses of the compromise, allowing settlers in each territory to determine if slavery should exist there, were certain to produce turmoil and violence. He believed that the power to limit slavery in the territories should have been left to Congress. In delineating his views, and in stressing the need for peaceful settlement of the slavery issue, Buchanan was working to gain the Democratic presidential nomination of 1852. It went to Franklin Pierce, however, and Pierce was elected.

Pierce appointed Buchanan his minister to England. This kept Buchanan from becoming embroiled in the most serious political issue of the day, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which dealt, again, with the expansion of slavery into the territories.

Upon his return in 1856, Buchanan found solid support in the Democratic party, and received the nomination for president at the 1856 convention. The appearance of the strictly sectional Republican party, and its first candidate, John C. Frémont, made Buchanan's campaign statement, "The Union is in danger and the people everywhere begin to know it," extremely appropriate. As was the custom in political campaigns of the time, Buchanan made no tours, but remained at Wheatland and carried on a voluminous correspondence. His appeal was based on his well known conservative and unionist viewpoint and the confidence of Southerners that he was not hostile to their situation. Running against Frémont and former President Millard Fillmore, he got only forty-five percent of the popular vote, but won fifty-nine percent of the vote by the electoral college. The Democratic platform had advocated a modified form of local sovereignty in deciding the slavery issue in each of the territories. Buchanan had always feared the violence to which such a solution could lead. Such was the result in "Bloody Kansas," which haunted Buchanan through most of his term. The settlers there were in the process of writing a constitution under which they could be admitted as a state. The crucial issue, of course, was whether slavery should be permitted. The slavery opponents boycotted the convention called at Lecompton. Buchanan's support of this unpopular constitution, which permitted slavery, brought the wrath of anti-slavery forces upon him. Although personally opposed to slavery, Buchanan used every political weapon in his attempt to push the constitution through Congress. Eventually a compromise plan succeeded in Congress, only to be overwhelmingly rejected by the anti-slavery Kansans.

The Kansas issue greatly strengthened the Republicans in the congressional elections of 1858 and 1859, further weakening Buchanan's influence in Congress. His attempt to divert public concern from the slavery issue to foreign policy by working toward increased American influence in Central and South America was doomed to failure, although Buchanan's personal achievements in establishing American rights there were considerable. He opened the door to commercial and diplomatic relations with the Orient, particularly with Japan and China, but again was forced to curtail his efforts because of congressional resistance. Even his own Democratic party was seriously divided over the slavery issue and could not be depended upon to support administration measures.

Courtesy R. B. Cunningham

Buchanan's cabin birthplace, now at Mercersburg Academy, Mercersburg.

The 1860 presidential election saw the disintegration of the Democratic party, and, with it, the end of national parties. The election of Abraham Lincoln on a strictly sectional Republican platform signified disaster in the eyes of Southerners, and secession proceedings were begun. Buchanan, with no basis now for power, was placed in the untenable position of mediating between rabid free-staters and secessionists. From the time of Lincoln's election in November, 1860, to his inauguration in March, 1861, Buchanan's attempts to placate both sides were met with violent denunciations from both camps. His suggestion of a constitutional convention to redefine the place of slavery in the United States found little support. His policy thus became to commit no act which might lead to active warfare, while carrying out the business of the federal government in the seceded states. It was an exhausting task for the seventy-year-old veteran, and one that he gladly relinquished on Inauguration Day, 1861.

His return to Wheatland was the occasion for large celebrations at each train stop; and the policy which the new Republican regime initiated seemed to be nothing if not a continuation of his. Yet when actual firing began, and the Civil War was a fact, it was Buchanan who became the scapegoat. Misrepresentations of facts were frequent, and any effort at defense on Buchanan's part only led to further vilification. He spent much of his time writing a book, published in 1866, entitled *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of Rebellion*, in which he defended his actions for future generations.

Life at Wheatland continued to bring pleasure, although lessened by the news of war. During the Battle of Gettysburg, he refused to leave, although Confederate advance guards were about ten miles distant. Letters from Southern friends attested to the physical and spiritual damage the war had caused. As complex new forces appeared throughout the country, Buchanan began to feel he had outlived his time, and indeed, at seventy-eight, he was the only surviving member of the House of Representatives he had joined in 1821. In May, 1868, he became ill with a cold, and complications of old age set in. Knowing that he had not long to live, he directed that his funeral be kept small. After his death on June 1, 1868, however, his neighbors could not be kept away, and the funeral attracted nearly 20,000 persons. The life of public service to which Buchanan was dedicated had earned the appreciation of many who were determined to pay this final tribute to him.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1966. Text by Mrs. Gail M. Gibson; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

11

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

ON THE Susquehanna River twenty miles north of the Maryland boundary is the borough of Columbia, Pennsylvania. In the early nineteenth century Columbia attracted a considerable settlement of former Negro slaves who had legally procured their freedom from their Virginia owners. In the succeeding decades, before the Civil War, these fugitives made their settlement a refuge for those of their race fleeing the bonds of slavery from the South. Tradition says that slaveholders lost their runaways so often around Columbia that they concluded, "there must be an *underground railroad* out of here."

This illegal and informal "conspiracy," which hastened and shielded the escape of runaway slaves, became known as "the underground railroad." The conspirators, naturally enough, began to talk the language of railroading: "Conductors" guided the slaves from "station" to "station." "Stockholders" financed the venture and discussed the movement of "valuable pieces of ebony" or "prime articles"—anything but Negro slaves! Because secrecy was crucial, few records of the "railroad's" activities survive. Most information comes to us from recollections put on record many years later. Most participants probably knew nothing about the activities of the underground railroad beyond their immediate neighborhoods. They simply fed and hid the fugitives and passed them along to the next station. They asked few questions, and when the slave hunters knocked, there was, in reality, little they could tell them.

Federal law had long asserted the responsibility of residents of free states and territories to return escaped slave property to its owners. The Constitution of the United States had a fugitive slave clause that Congress implemented with the first Fugitive Slave Law in 1793, placing a fine on anyone rescuing, harboring, or hindering the arrest of a fugitive. This law was rendered ineffective by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Prigg* vs. *Pennsylvania* in 1842. Congress, however, enacted a stronger Fugitive Slave Law as part of the Compromise of 1850 between the slave- and non-slave-holding states. Under this compromise, in part, the South agreed to the admission of California as a free or non-slave state, and was compensated by a law requiring federal authorities to hunt runaway slaves and return them to their masters.

William Still, *The Underground Railroad*

The arrival of a party of fifteen fugitive slaves at League Island, Philadelphia.

The pursuit and return of fugitive slaves was certain to meet resistance in Pennsylvania, and did, though many con-

115

demned this kind of civil disobedience and urged compliance with the law. It is noteworthy that the General Assembly, dominated by a Whig party majority, acted in 1847 to forbid the use of jails for the detention of fugitive slaves. This law, however, was repealed in the 1850's under Democratic party leadership.

Because of its dependence on individual action and the need for secrecy, the underground railroad was not a highly organized system with well-defined routes. In areas where fugitive slaves often traveled, stories or legends of the railroad's routes and stations still persist. These routes wove a criss-crossing network of lines, with the stations in some areas so close that fleeing slaves could seek refuge wherever expedient. Ohio was a natural escape route because of its long border with the slave states and its nearness to Canada. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa all got fugitive traffic from adjacent slave states. Most of the traffic through Pennsylvania entered in the southeastern part of the State, where public opinion was the most sympathetic.

Slavery had never been profitable in Pennsylvania, and had not been widespread. Opposition to it had been given a variety of expressions. John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, members of the Society of Friends (or Quakers), had fought against slavery in colonial times. As anti-slavery sentiment spread among the Friends, opposition began to be heard among Pennsylvania Germans, Methodists, and Reformed Presbyterians. The first abolitionist society in the colonies met in Philadelphia in 1775, and there, in 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded. The Revolution inspired a movement to end slavery in Pennsylvania, and in 1780 the legislature provided for gradual abolition. In Pennsylvania, then, the Negro found relative freedom and widespread sympathy, but less than full equality. Even though the new State constitution of 1838 disenfranchised the Negro, Pennsylvania continued to attract many fugitives because of the help they received in their flight and the sanctuary offered them.

Citizens of southeastern Pennsylvania gained very early a reputation for helping fugitives. George Washington, in 1786, expressed doubt about the chances of recovering slaves who had fled to Pennsylvania. He noted that a Virginian's slave had escaped to Philadelphia and was among "a society of Quakers, formed for the purpose, who have attempted to liberate [him]." Later the General wrote that one of his own slaves was in southeastern Pennsylvania, "where it is not easy to apprehend them because there are a great number [of people there] who would rather facilitate the escape . . . than apprehend the runaway." Maryland slaveowners were unhappy about the behavior of some Pennsylvanians, for in 1818 the U. S. House of Representatives received a resolution from the Maryland legislature asking for protection against Pennsylvania citizens who harbored and protected slaves.

Still
Robert Purvis

The people who helped the slaves most included not only a large number of Friends but also many free Negroes. In fact northern Negroes frequently took the initiative in organizing assistance to the fugitives. A secondary concern of these Negro organizations was the protection of the free Negro in the North from kidnapping or incorrect identification as a fugitive. One of the first such organizations appeared in New York in 1835; two years later Robert Purvis, a Philadelphia Negro and merchant persuaded a group of people to form a similar association in his city. Purvis was active in aiding fugitives; his house at Ninth and Lombard streets had a secret room, entered only by a trap door, for hiding runaway slaves. In August, 1837, the Vigilant Association of Philadelphia was formed "to create a fund to aid colored persons in distress."

An elected committee of fifteen carried on the work of the Association. The first president—who was Purvis—the first secretary, and the first treasurer of the committee were all Negroes. Purvis continued as president when the committee underwent reorganization in 1839, and hired a fulltime fund-raiser. The committee used most of its funds to reimburse those who fed, clothed, and housed fugitives and to supply small amounts of cash to the frequently penniless slaves. Runaways

116

Still, *The Underground Railroad*

The resurrection of Henry "Box" Brown.

heard about and appealed to the committee for help, for in the six months following the reorganization, June to mid-December, 1839, the committee handled more than fifty cases, sending forty-six to freedom. By the end of 1841 the committee averaged three-and-a-half cases a week. Then in 1842 an anti-Negro riot took place in Philadelphia. Robert Purvis was forced to guard his own door against the rioters, while nearby a Negro "Beneficial Hall" and church burned. He became disillusioned and withdrew to the Philadelphia suburb of Byberry. The activities of the Vigilant Committee gradually declined. (Nevertheless, the Philadelphia office had some excitement in 1849 when an express company delivered a crate from Richmond, Virginia, containing Henry "Box" Brown, who survived his escape quite well.) Purvis destroyed the records of the organization because he feared that its members might be prosecuted or those that it had helped recaptured.

In December, 1852, a group of Philadelphians revived the association as the Vigilant Committee, with William Still, a Negro, the chairman. It supported the underground railroad by paying for fugitives' room and board in the homes of free Philadelphia Negroes and for clothes, medicine, and railroad fares to Canada. The Philadelphia committee assisted about 100 escapees a year during the 1850's. William Still kept extensive records, despite the necessity of hiding them occasionally. The committee carefully questioned each of its applicants to weed out imposters seeking a free meal and some small cash.

Still

William Still

The majority of fugitives came from Virginia and Maryland and were young men, though women and children fled too. The fugitives usually got as far as Pennsylvania on their own by pretending to be white or free, by traveling on foot at night, or by hiding on ships which had sailed from the South. Most underground conductors opposed the active recruitment of runaways; but there were exceptions, such as Harriet Tubman, a former slave who made many trips south to bring men, women, and children to freedom. For the most part, however, the slaves took the initiative themselves and with courage and daring fled to freedom in new and unfamiliar country.

The slaves who escaped to southeastern Pennsylvania were not all sent out of Philadelphia by the same route. Frequently they were passed on to the New York Vigilant Committee, with whom the Philadelphia committee had close ties. At other times they were sent northwestward, the final goal being entry into Canada between Lakes Erie and Ontario. The fugitive traveled on foot or in a wagon driven by a conductor, though sometimes he traveled by rail—as a regular passenger or as a baggage car stowaway. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad carried fugitives to Phoenixville and Reading. From Harrisburg they sometimes rode the Northern Central Railroad toward Elmira, New York, and between Philadelphia and New York City, the Pennsylvania.

The routes of the underground railroad in southeastern Pennsylvania are identifiable, but in northern, central, and western Pennsylvania they are obscure. Approaching Philadelphia were three much-used routes, one crossing the Susquehanna above Havre de Grace and running northeast to Phoenixville, a second running through Baltimore, West Chester, and Phoenixville, and the most eastern running through Delaware to Philadelphia. Lancaster, Chester, and Delaware counties had more lines to the square mile than any other part of the

railroad. South central and southwestern Pennsylvania also received fugitives from Maryland and Virginia. Some underground lines functioned there, but the routes are hard to trace. Its unplanned and unscheduled nature, the secrecy, and the lack of records make detailed mapping of the railroad impossible.

The passage of time has also obscured the destinations of the fugitives. Tradition says that all slaves thought Canada was the "Promised Land"—it had no fugitive slave laws. How many runaways actually reached Canada was unclear even at the time of the greatest activity of the railroad. Contemporaries estimated that 20,000 to 50,000 escaped slaves remained in the free states. They settled in the cities and in rural colonies, often among free men of their own race. The passage of the new Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 frightened more than a few into tearing up their roots once again and moving on to Canada. Others dared to remain—for them the danger of discovery and recapture was real.

The countryside around Christiana in Lancaster County supported several families of Negro farmers who had escaped from slavery and settled on the southern edge of the free states. In September, 1851, a Maryland slaveowner set out with his son and several others to reclaim four escaped slaves who he had heard were in the Christiana vicinity. Accompanying the party was a deputy United States marshal. By the time the slave hunters arrived at the house where the escapees were staying, the men inside had already been warned by the Philadelphia Vigilant Committee. The Negroes refused to come down from their stronghold on the second floor, and instead summoned help from the neighborhood by sounding a horn. A crowd gathered, tension mounted, violence erupted on both sides, the old slaveowner was shot to death, and his son was seriously wounded. The Christiana riot caused alarm in both North and South. The fugitive slaves in the area realized their danger and fled to Canada in the days that followed. Many suspects were arrested, including some Friends who refused to aid the U. S. Marshal in capturing the slaves. None of those arrested was punished, however.

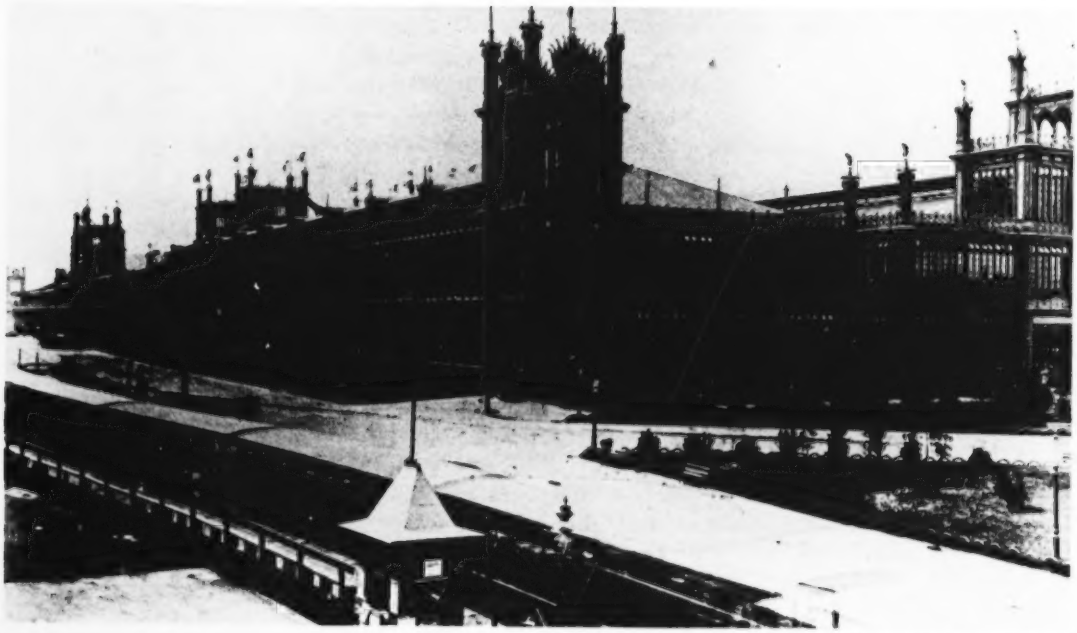
The failure to convict the defendants or capture the fugitives perhaps reflected the deepening opposition to slavery in the North. Slaves had escaped their bondage at first through the help of a courageous few, while the majority of northerners either disapproved or felt no serious concern. Eventually, where traffic was heaviest, small groups, such as the Philadelphia Vigilant Committee, formed to join in the work. As the struggle to maintain a North-South compromise grew more critical, antislavery propagandists spread the conviction that slavery was evil. During the final decade of the underground railroad, the need for secrecy lessened, and the small but steady stream of fugitive slaves more readily found help in crossing the Mason and Dixon Line.

Still, *The Underground Railroad*

The Christiana tragedy.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1969. Text by Mrs. Linda McCabe McCurdy; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION OF 1876



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The Main Exhibition Building. Trains, as in foreground, carried visitors about the grounds.

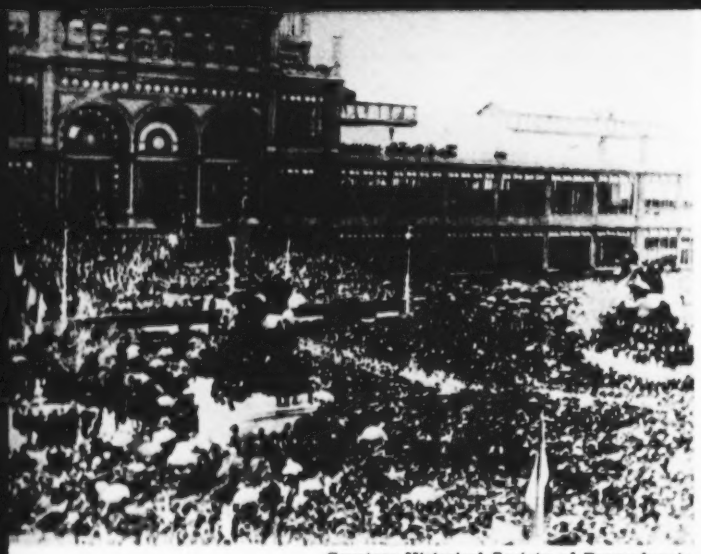
PHILADELPHIA was astir with the excitement of anticipation as a whole nation, well prepared by months of publicity, waited. The day was May 10, 1876, and in a few hours the President of the United States and the Emperor of Brazil would open in Fairmount Park the great International Exhibition to celebrate the centennial year of American independence.

The day had begun with the ringing of the city's bells. Then the rain had stopped, though the sky remained leaden. With nothing to deter them now and with months of waiting at an end, thousands streamed to the park, 100,000 to wait, as the sun appeared, for the nine o'clock opening of the Exhibition gates. As they waited they could see, close by, the vast Main Exhibition Building. Beyond were the towers and expanse of Machinery Hall, the Gothic "barns" of Agricultural Hall, the arabesque architectural intricacies of Horticultural Hall, the art galleries of Memorial Hall, and twenty-four state and many other buildings—236 acres of exhibits and exhibition grounds.

In choosing a site for the celebration, the United State Congress had most appropriately selected the city where American independence was proclaimed and where the Constitution, which made a nation of thirteen colonies, was written. Philadelphia was stretching at the seams now to accommodate the visitors which history had brought it. More than eight million admissions, from this country and abroad—the population of the United States was forty million—were counted at the fair during the six months it was open, from May 10 through November 10. It was perhaps the greatest extravaganza ever staged in the State of Pennsylvania.

The idea of an international exhibition was not original with those who planned the celebration, as such gatherings can be traced at least to the trade

119



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

President Grant and Emperor Dom Pedro looked out upon this throng from the front of Memorial Hall, out of the picture to the right, at opening day ceremonies. The 1,000 voice choir is massed in the stand before the north entrance of the Main Exhibition Building.

fairs of the Middle Ages. Most likely, however, the advocates of the Exhibition had in mind the fairs which had been held since the middle of the nineteenth century, especially the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, inspired by Prince Albert. Yet the notion of combining a world's fair with a national celebration of independence was unprecedented, and the idea was successfully transformed into the first such event held in the United States.

The first to suggest an international exhibition in Philadelphia for the anniversary seems to have been a college professor in the Midwest. His idea was readily embraced by several civic-minded citizens and the city fathers of Pennsylvania's largest city. The General Assembly of the Commonwealth and the Franklin Institute joined with the city government in petitioning the federal government, and in 1871 the United States Centennial Commission was created by act of the Congress. This commission was charged with planning "an International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Products of the Soil and Mine." Members of the body were appointed by President Ulysses S. Grant following nomination by the governors of the states and territories. Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, was named the president. Representing Pennsylvania was Daniel J. Morrell, of Johnstown, a U. S. representative who had introduced into the Congress the act that created the commission. Pennsylvania's alternate was the railroad magnate Asa Packer.

Not only were there historical reasons for holding America's celebration in the city of Philadelphia, there were practical advantages as well. Fairmount, one of the oldest and largest municipal parks in the country, was an ideal spot for such a celebration. In 1873 some 450 acres of the pastoral grounds of Fairmount Park were set aside for the Centennial Exhibition. At the same time a proclamation by President Grant announced the Exhibition to the world; and in the summer of 1874 the Chief Executive, at the direction of the Congress, invited the governments of foreign nations to participate.

The exhibition opened as scheduled on May 10, 1876, to a vast throng of visitors. Philadelphia was resplendently decked out for fairgoers with bunting and with the flags of participating nations. Trains of out-of-town visitors disgorged at fairground stations. A host of dignitaries attended also, led by President and Mrs. Grant, Emporer Dom Pedro II of Brazil and his Empress, and the governors of Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Dom Pedro, whose unassuming manner, intense curiosity, and admiration for the United States had made him a national celebrity, was the favorite of the crowds. During the opening ceremonies Richard Wagner's "Centennial Grand March," John Greenleaf Whittier's "Centennial Hymn," and Sidney Lanier's "Centennial Cantata" were played and sung. At 12 noon, after an address by the President, the Centennial Exhibition was opened amid a resounding artillery salute of 100 guns. Then the official party and the many notables visited the pavilions.

The Centennial Commission provided for all exhibits to be classified into seven departments, mining and metallurgy, manufactures, education and science, machinery, agriculture, art, and horticulture. These departments were housed in the five major buildings of the Exhibition. The Main Exhibition Building contained the exhibits relating to manufactures, mining and metallurgy, and science and education, while each of the other four departments had its own building.

The largest building at the fair was the Main Exhibition Building, which covered over twenty-one

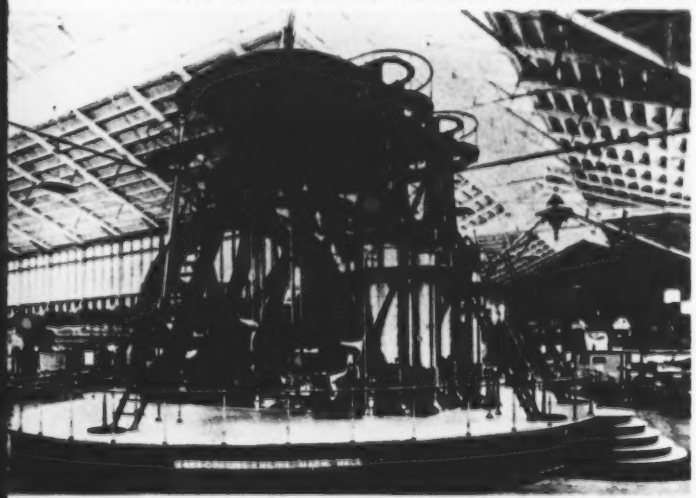
acres and was 464 feet in width and 1,880 feet in length. This enormous structure of wood, glass, and iron held an amazing number of exhibits from thirty nations. A seemingly endless variety of items was put on display, soaps, furniture, books, tools, medicines, religious tracts, military and naval armaments, and thousands of others. Some interesting new inventions were also shown, among them the electric light, the typewriter, the telephone, and an automatic baby feeder.

Machinery Hall was the second largest of the buildings, covering fourteen acres and containing almost every conceivable type of machine. On display were machines for working metal, stone, and wood, for sewing, spinning, weaving, printing, mining, farming, traveling, and processing foodstuffs. Power was supplied by the forty-foot-high steam engine designed by George H. Corliss, inventor and manufacturer. The giant Corliss engine could be run by one man and was the talk of the Exhibition. The third major building was Agricultural Hall.

The other major structures were Memorial Hall and Horticultural Hall. Memorial Hall was designed as a permanent museum of art, and was built by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia. On display was Peter Rothermel's huge thirty-two by sixteen and three-quarter-foot painting of the Battle of Gettysburg, which can now be seen in the William Penn Memorial Museum in Harrisburg. Memorial Hall was converted in the 1960's to a recreation center and headquarters for the Fairmount Park Commission. Philadelphia erected the ornament of the fair, Horticultural Hall. A Moorish-style palace of glass, iron, and colored brick, this exotic edifice, filled with trees and shrubs and flowers, was the most striking of the nearly 200 buildings erected. One of the most interesting examples of the Moorish style in the United States, and intended to be permanent, it was razed after receiving damage from high winds in the early 1950's.

Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The Pennsylvania State Building.



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The Corliss Engine in Machinery Hall.

In addition to the five major buildings and the host of lesser structures, there were other important buildings. Among them were the U. S. Government Building and the Women's Pavilion. The Women's Pavilion, erected by the Women's Centennial Committee led by Mrs. Elizabeth Duane Gillespie, energetic great granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, was an innovation for an exposition, the first large-scale attempt to exhibit the products of feminine industry and taste. It showed the relative emancipation of the women of the United States, while it bombarded visitors with feminist and women's rights propaganda in its weekly newspaper, *The New Century for Woman.*

Among the smaller buildings were the pavilions of various nations, although the principal exhibits of the foreign countries were in the Main Exhibition Building. Buildings were erected by Sweden, Chile, Turkey, Great Britain, Spain, the recently created German Empire, Brazil, France, and Portugal. Japan, closed to the western world before 1854, erected two, a dwelling and a bazaar, for its very popular exhibit.

Almost two-thirds of the states of the Union built pavilions, which contained offices, reception rooms, and in a few cases exhibits. Elaborately Victorian in design, they were among the most picturesque structures at the fair. Pennsylvania, as the host state, had two, one of whch was devoted exclusively to education in the Commonwealth. Special "state days" always drew large numbers of visitors, and frequently the governors attended. Pennsylvania Day, on September 28, in fact drew 274,919 persons —visitors and exhibitors—at the fair, the largest attendance of any single day.

Naturally there was plenty of food available for the fairgoers, who had their choice of French, Jewish, Turkish, Viennese, and German restaurants, as well as numerous American establishments. Among the latter was the South Restaurant, which specialized in the succulent foods served below the Potomac. There was general complaint, however, about the prices. An English visitor wrote to his brother that "at first the eating places charged so shamefully that they killed the business at the start." There were also "pop-corn buildings" and "soda water stands" and other dispensers of light refreshments. There was, however, no midway crowded with shooting galleries, haunted swings, or giant see-saws to detract from the exhibits. The fairground was surrounded by a nine-foot-high board fence, and just outside it, in the boom town where the huge Globe Hotel and other inns had been built, one could find livelier entertainment.

On November 10, 1876, President Grant returned to Fairmount Park to close the great fair. The ceremonies were most impresive and were well attended by governing officials from all of the United States. Open for 159 days, but never on Sundays, the Exhibition counted 8,004,325 paid admissions, and probably attracted a total of about 8,200,000 admissions. Nearly fifty countries of the world were represented by exhibitors, the number reaching 30,864 (almost three-fourths of them foreign). The average total exhibitor staff was 10,000 persons.

Fairmount Park was now to be cleared, to become once against the athletic, cultural, and recreational club of the City of Brotherly Love. The exhibits were crated and most of the structures dis-

Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The torch hand of the Statue of Liberty. At left in the background is the Women's Pavilion, and in the distance, center, Agricultural Hall.

assembled. The splendid processions by Knights Templar and the Grand Army of the Republic and the Knights of Pythias were past. Switzerland's Day, Odd Fellow's Day, Canada's Day, and Woman's Day (held on election day since women could not vote) were history. The hand bearing the torch of the Statue of Liberty, a centennial gift to this country from France, was on its way to New York harbor.

Besides Memorial Hall, a few other structures remain intact still, to help tell the story of this great showcase of Victorianism. Several of the picturesque state buildings were moved to South Jersey resorts and elsewhere. The Ohio Building remains in Fairmount Park, as does the magnificent and ornate Catholic Total Abstinence Fountain, with its statues of Revolutionary War figures.

The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia was a coming-out party for the United States of America. For the first time, her industrial progress was put on display for the world to see. The Exhibition also gave Americans a chance to reflect on the tremendous growth and development in all aspects of life that had been made in the United States during the first century of independence. Because of its emphasis on national progress, the fair helped heal the wounds left by the troubles of the preceding decades. The Centennial Exhibition was a successful birthday party given by a proud people.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1969. Text by Dennis T. Lawson; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter. The Historic Pennsylvania Leaflets are sold for five cents a copy; in quantities of ten or more the price is three cents each.

Pennsylvania Archeology: An Introduction

THE PALEO-INDIAN PERIOD
(10,000 B. C. — 8000 B. C.)

Few people realize how long Pennsylvania has been inhabited. The earliest Indians came here from Asia many thousands of years ago, when the glaciers were receding. This marks the beginning of what we call the Paleo-Indian period. The climate was much different from that of today; the landscape was in part tundra, and in part composed of scattered stands of spruce and fir. Small, wandering bands of hunters and their families followed herds of big game animals, mostly of species now extinct.

The best-known artifact of the Paleo-Indian is the fluted point. This is a small spearhead distinguished by a channel along both faces of the blade, each made by striking a long flake from the base. These points have been found in most parts of the State, but they are not numerous in any area. Because the Paleo-Indian period was short and the population small and mobile, recognizable sites are very rare.

THE ARCHAIC PERIOD
(8000 B. C. — 1000 B. C.)

By about 10,000 years ago most of the big game animals of the glacial age had become extinct, and the climate became more similar to the present. This was the Archaic period, and the Indians developed a new way of life to adapt to the changing environment. A greater variety of food resources were available, the most important of which included deer, wild plant foods, shell fish and fish.

During the Archaic period an interesting device called the spear thrower or atlatl came into use. This was a stick about as long as a man's forearm, with a projecting hook at one end, against which the butt end of the spear was set. It enabled the hunter to throw his spear farther and harder, much as if an extra joint had been added to his arm. Carefully-made ground and polished stone weights, usually called bannerstones, were attached to the shaft of the spear thrower to increase the force impelling the dart.

Compared to the Paleo-Indian period a more specialized set of tools were developed to exploit the changed environment. Furthermore, local stone resources were preferred for tool manufacture. Spear points are found in a variety of notched and stemmed styles, and ground and polished stone tools, such as, adzes, axes, and gouges, were made for working hard woods.

Spear Thrower, Archaic Period

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD
(1800 B. C. — 800 B. C.)

During the latter part of the Archaic period and for several centuries afterward, there were also people in eastern Pennsylvania who had a somewhat different mode of life. Their sites are frequently found along the banks of rivers and may be recognized by fragments of soapstone bowls and broad spear points.

Steatite (or soapstone, as it is sometimes called) is a soft grayish stone which can easily be carved with tools of harder stone. It was carved into vessels which, in Pennsylvania, are usually oval or rectangular in shape and have flat bottoms. Often the bowls have a lug or handle at each end.

Soapstone vessels permitted food to be boiled directly over fire. Soapstone was also used for ornaments, such as, gorgets, pendants, and beads.

Soapstone Bowl, Transitional Period

Several types of spear points are found in sites of this period. They are usually broad and well-chipped; the most common materials are rhyolite and jasper. When projectile points became worn or broken they were sometimes rechipped into scrapers, knives, and drills.

THE WOODLAND PERIOD
(1000 B. C. — 1550 A. D.)

The Woodland period is marked by two important activities which earlier cultures did not have — agriculture and pottery-making.

The Early Woodland culture in Pennsylvania is not well known. Pottery of this period is scarce, soft, and so poorly made that it usually crumbles into small bits. Projectile points are usually rather long and narrow, with stems or shallow notches.

Sunflowers and other plant species not familiar to us as food crops were used by the Early Woodland people, particularly by the somewhat more advanced Adena cultures of the Ohio Valley. Being plentiful and extremely nutritious, collected seeds could be preserved as a reserve for seasons of famine.

Clay Pot, Early Woodland Period

The first smoking pipes, possibly suggesting the use of tobacco, date from this period. These pipes are usually stone tubes and are finely made. Other objects found include ground stone weights for spear throwers, some of them made in the form of birds, and a variety of axes and adzes.

Platform Pipe, Middle Woodland Period

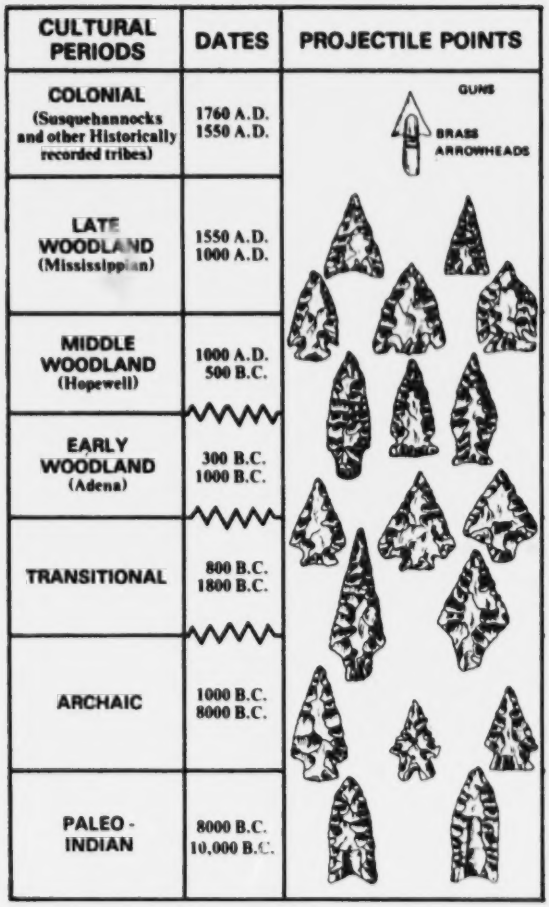
Middle Woodland was the period of the "Mound Builder" cultures of Ohio and adjacent areas. In Pennsylvania, however, except in the extreme western section, the manifestations of this cultural development are much less spectacular. The general mode of life was much like that of Early Woodland. Pottery fragments are more common than in the Early Woodland period, but the pottery is still crude. The first evidence of corn is found at this time, but much of the food was still obtained by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants. Pipes are more abundant and more varied in shape than in Early Woodland times.

Projectile points show noticeable changes at this time. They are usually made of choice types of flint, often imported from a great distance. They are finely chipped, smaller points with deeply cut notches. The disappearance of spear thrower weights may indicate that the bow was replacing the spear thrower.

Incised Pot, Late Woodland Period

The last prehistoric period is known as Late Woodland. In Pennsylvania it probably began about 1000 A. D. and lasted until the first contacts with the culture of the European. It was marked by settled village life supported by agriculture. Much of the diet continued to be drawn from wild food resources. Sites are usually found on slightly elevated spots on the fertile terraces along rivers and streams, although there are exceptions, especially in western Pennsylvania where sites are on higher ground. Houses of this period were round, oval, or rectangular. The walls were made of posts set into the ground, and the roofs, semicylindrical, domed, or occasionally gabled, were made of bark or mats. Villages were often large and were occasionally surrounded by a wall of posts. The village might be moved, perhaps

12



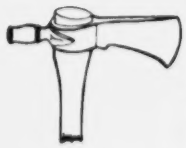
Cultural Periods and Point Types

at intervals of ten to fifteen years, when the soil had lost its productivity and the supply of firewood was exhausted; the new village was usually established only a few miles away.

Pottery is much more abundant on Late Woodland sites than on those of the earlier periods. Vessels are larger, better made, and more elaborately decorated. The abundance of vessel fragments is very useful to the archeologist, for it is by studying the characteristics of pottery that we can learn more about smaller divisions of time and social organization.

The projectile points of this period are true arrowheads, designed for use with the bow. They are small and almost always triangular in shape. Hoes are commonly found on Late Woodland sites; some of them were chipped from shale and notched for the attachment of a handle, while others were shaped from the shoulder blade of the elk or a slice of its antler. Pipes were made of both stone and pottery and are of varied forms. One of the more common forms is made of clay, with the bowl and stem at obtuse angles to each other. In general, sites of this period yield fewer implements of chipped and ground stonework than earlier sites, and more artifacts of pottery, bone, and shell.

THE HISTORIC PERIOD
(1550 A. D. —)



Pipe Tomahawk, Historic Period

Sites of the historic period are marked by objects of European manufacture in very small quantities at first, but in greater numbers at later times until nearly all of the imperishable material is that bought from traders. For much of the State the date of the first visible European influence is about 1550 A. D., but trade goods appear earlier near the coast and later in the western part of the State.

The coming of the white man resulted in marked changes in Indian life. European diseases — smallpox, tuberculosis, and many others — had a devastating effect on a population which had never built up an immunity to them. Competition for land and trade led to the constant wars of the early historic period and a general breakdown of the old order.

Urged on by the depletion of game and the pressure of white settlement, the Indians of eastern Pennsylvania were often forced to sell their lands. By the early seventeenth century most of them were living along the Susquehanna River. Gradually the tide of settlement advanced westward, and by 1789 all tribal land had been ceded to the State. In 1796 three separate parcels

of land were awarded to the Seneca chief, Cornplanter, by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Cornplanter and his people settled upon one, a tract of a little more than a square mile on the Allegheny River in Warren County. This tract was held by Cornplanter's heirs until 1964, when the construction of the Kinzua Dam forced the dissolution of the last remaining Indian community in Pennsylvania.

ABOUT COLLECTING INDIAN ARTIFACTS

The person who collects Indian artifacts plays an important role in archeology, a role which can be either helpful or destructive. There are more collectors than professional archeologists. The collector usually searches for artifacts in his own neighborhood, so he knows his area best. Any archeological study of an area depends very heavily on the knowledge of the collectors of that region.

There is a type of collector who is interested only in getting complete and undamaged objects. Such a person may accumulate a large and showy collection, but one which has little significance for the study of archeology. His collection will probably display his own selection of pieces, not a representative sample of the items used by the Indians. Further, the artifacts in his collection will probably not be identified by site, thereby forfeiting their scientific value.

Another person may begin merely as a collector of artifacts, but as his interest in the Indians who used them grows, he begins to study the functions of the objects and the differences among artifacts from various sites. He may also join the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, a state-wide organization of amateur and professional archaeologists. Above all, he keeps accurate records of his finds. Such a person is not just a collector, he is a steward of the past.

Cataloging should be done promptly, while the details of the location are still fresh in one's mind. Any system of marking artifacts is good if it will enable one to identify the places from which they came. One symbol is all that is necessary to catalog all of the artifacts from a single site. The mark on the artifact should be small and, preferably, on the rougher side, the one opposite the side to be exhibited. India ink is the best marking material that is easily available. When it is dry, the mark may be covered with a little colorless nail polish to keep it from rubbing off, particularly from smooth surfaces.

The location of each site should be recorded in a notebook, together with the catalog symbol used to mark the artifacts from that site. The notebook will then contain a permanent record of the information which is archeologically most significant.

All collectors are encouraged to register their sites with the Pennsylvania Archaeological Site Survey, a compendium of over 12,000 sites located throughout the Commonwealth. Significant sites recorded with the Survey are afforded protection from the ever-increasing effects of state and/or federally assisted construction projects.

Credits:
Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Text by Catherine McCann; edited by Barry C. Kent, Stephen G. Warfel, and Kurt W. Carr; 1983; Division of Archaeology, The State Museum of Pa., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

CHIEF CORNPLANTER

PENNSYLVANIA'S one surviving Indian community lived until 1964 on the Cornplanter Tract in Warren County, northwest Pennsylvania. In that year the newly constructed Kinzua Dam was shut, flooding the Allegheny Reservoir and submerging the community's physical remains.

The Cornplanter Tract was not an Indian *reservation*. It was a grant of land made in 1791 to Cornplanter, a chief of the Seneca nation, and to his heirs by the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Through this gift, the government of Pennsylvania expressed its gratitude to Cornplanter for his Indian diplomacy in the early years of American independence.

Courtesy New-York Historical Society

Chief Cornplanter, 1796, by F. Bartoli.

Cornplanter's people knew him as Kaintwakon, meaning "by what one plants." The white people knew him also as John Abeel (rendered also as Obail) and by other names. He was born to his Seneca Indian mother about 1750 at Ganawagus, near Avon, New York. The Wolf Clan to which she belonged was a ranking Indian family. Among its members were several prominent Indian leaders, Kiasutha, Handsome Lake, Red Jacket, and Governor Blacksnake, all principals in the drama of Indian-white relations which spanned the remainder of the century after 1755. Ultimately, this drama would determine whether this country, especially that part west of the Allegheny Mountains, would be French or English, European or Indian.

About 1784, Cornplanter assumed—rather, had thrust upon him—his principal's role. This role derived from his leading position among the Iroquois of the upper Allegheny and Genesee rivers, a position which he had gradually assumed from his maternal uncle, Kiasutha. Cornplanter was only half Indian. His father was John Abeel, of a prominent Albany Dutch family. Abeel had gone into the Indian country in western New York to trade as early, possibly, as 1744—he was 22 that year—and he would spend the rest of his active life as a trader there. His special passport among hostile Indians was his ability as a gunsmith. French, Dutch, or British saw to it that the Indians had plenty of arms, and the Indians welcomed white men who could repair them.

Cornplanter was the child of a temporary union, common then between whites and Indians. In Iroquois society the "nationality" of the mother determined that of her children. Cornplanter was reared as an Indian and an Indian he remained. It is hard to believe that one who had so many contacts with whites never spoke their language, but it apparently is true.

At some time in the dim past the New York Iroquois, anxious to end warfare and maintain the peace, had organized themselves into a unique confederation known to our history as the League of the Iroquois. Easternmost of the Iroquois were the Mohawks, on the river of that name; west of them were the Oneidas, the Onondagas, and the Cayugas, each "nation" asso-

Red Jacket, in opposition to Cornplanter, urged that the Iroquois resist American encroachment.

ciated with a lake now named for it. Farthest west were the Senecas. These original League members were joined by the Tuscaroras, who began to move into Oneida country from the South about 1720. The Tuscaroras were admitted to "associate membership," so that thereafter the League of Five Nations was often called the Six Nations.

Most numerous and powerful of all the league members were the westernmost, the Senecas. The Senecas had divided really into two peoples, those in the Seneca Lake region and those on the Genesee and upper Allegheny rivers. Cornplanter's family belonged to the latter group, called the Chenussio people. They became increasingly associated with the British and Americans at Pittsburgh. Kiasutha, Cornplanter's maternal uncle, was the local chief for the League on the Allegheny and upper Ohio rivers. At the outset of the American Revolution, British and Americans had officially urged these Indians to remain neutral. The quarrel, they stated publicly, was between a white father over the water and his sons over here and was no concern of the Indians. The Indians were anxious to believe this, but each side was just as anxious, privately, to win their assistance. At last, the British made an open appeal to the Iroquois to declare war against the Americans, using bribes of rum and goods so generous that the occasion was remembered for years. The two representatives of the Chenussio Senecas, Kiasutha, who was partial to the Americans, whom he knew at Pittsburgh, and Cornplanter, were the last to hold out for neutrality. They acquiesced, however, in the majority decision made at Oswego, July, 1777, and went off with the rest to attack the American Fort Stanwix at Rome, New York. Accompanied by his nephew Governor Blacksnake, Cornplanter fought as a "captain" of Indians through the entire war, mostly in the New York theater. A majority of historical accounts declare that Cornplanter was frequently the leader in bloody raids on the Pennsylvania frontier.

Cornplanter emerged from the Revolution a principal war chief of the Senecas. After the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, he learned that the British, despite their promises, had neglected the interests of their Indian allies and in effect had abandoned them to the former colonists. From that time on he cast his lot with the United States, believing that his people's wisest course lay in cooperating with the new nation and making thereby the best possible terms with it. He helped the whites because he regarded this as the only way to help the Indians.

Once the struggle with Britain was concluded, hardy pioneers began to push to the west and establish a new frontier. Especially attractive were the rich lands of the Genesee country in New York and the adjoining part of northwest Pennsylvania; large land companies had plans for settlement. These had been the prized hunting grounds of the Six Nations and their sylvan home for generation upon generation. The once powerful confederacy had yet to feel any weakening of its power, and its chieftains were still inclined to view themselves as lords of the wilderness.

History records that the man who faced this issue in the most statesmanlike way was Cornplanter, chief of the Senecas. Less farsighted leaders among his people, such as Red Jacket,

his kinsman, sought to lead them into a policy of senseless and stubborn opposition, which could have had but one outcome—the annihilation of the Iroquois. Cornplanter foresaw this and envisioned another solution—the use of peaceful bargaining in an effort to save his people, and to preserve for them a small portion of the lands over which they once held complete dominion. Such a policy was not an easy one to adopt, for the whites were grasping and unappreciative, and the authorities at New York and Philadelphia could not always enforce treaties with the Indians. It was a policy of subservience and was pursued at a terrible cost in pride and self-respect, but Cornplanter saw that it was the only policy which could preserve the remnants of the Six Nations from extinction.

Thus it is that the history of Indian relations during the years from 1784 to the turn of the century is filled with the record of the influence of Chief Cornplanter, son of a white trader and a highborn Seneca woman. It was the hand of this powerful war chief of the Senecas, now using the arts of peace, which was so much in evidence behind the scenes in concluding the treaties of Fort Stanwix in 1784 and Fort Harmar in 1789. These provided a settlement of land problems and Indian relations. The possibility of trouble remained, however. During 1790 and 1791, Cornplanter earned the gratitude of Pennsylvania by his heroic effort to check the development of a threatening alliance between eastern and Ohio Indians.

The Indians' hostility was not without cause. In 1790, Cornplanter visited Philadelphia to protest white inroads upon Iroquois lands. In his frustration, he characterized President Washington as a "town destroyer," recalling the disastrous effects of the Sullivan expedition upon his people during the Revolution. He pleaded for his people: "Where is the land which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon?" they asked. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and Governor Thomas Mifflin listened to Cornplanter's plea and assured him that Indians and their lands would be protected.

The following year President Washington sent Cornplanter to cultivate peace and friendship with the Indians of Ohio and Michigan. Conferences with them on the Ohio and at Painted Post in New York ended in failure. Major General Anthony Wayne's bloody defeat of the Indians in the Battle of Fallen Timbers near Toledo, Ohio, August, 1794, finally convinced the western tribes to end their resistance. Cornplanter, however, was successful in keeping the Iroquois from joining the rebels.

On his numerous visits to New York, Albany, and Philadelphia, he discussed religion and education with those who were concerned about his people. During his long stay in Philadelphia in the winter of 1790, he attended Quaker meetings with some regularity. The following year he asked the Quakers to accept his oldest son Henry and two other boys for schooling in Philadelphia, to which they agreed. He also asked the Society of Friends for a Seneca mission:

> We wish our children to be taught the same principles by which your fathers were guided. Brothers! We have too little wisdom among us, and we cannot teach our children what we see their situation requires them to know. We wish them to be taught to read and write, and such other things as you teach your children, especially the love of peace.

A home on the Cornplanter Tract.

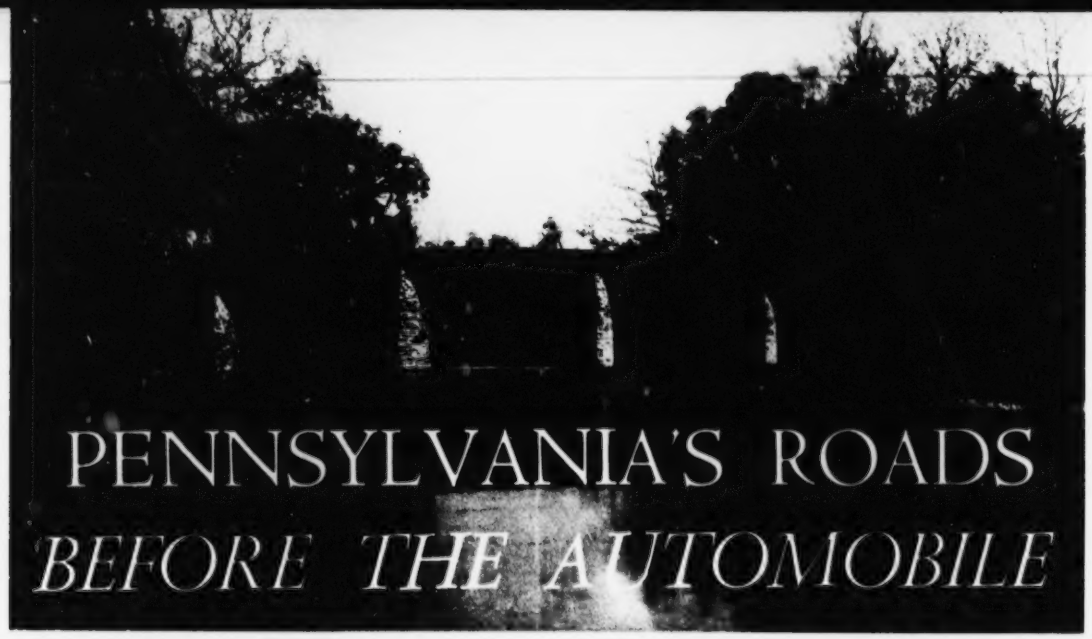
Cornplanters and Senecas gathered at the Cornplanter tract on August 24, 1940, to adopt Governor Arthur H. James of Pennsylvania as a "blood brother" of the Senecas. More than 3,000 visitors attended the traditional ceremonies.

In 1798 the Quakers accepted Cornplanter's invitation to teach his people. He encouraged schools and missions. The Quakers made no attempt to convert, but instead devoted themselves to morals, education, and improved agricultural techniques. With their guidance, his community became a model, with roads, good houses, fences, plowed fields, and more cattle than could well be wintered. Cornplanter strongly opposed liquor and he was supported in this by his half-brother Handsome Lake, who in 1799 became a religious reformer and a prophet to the Iroquois people. To an extent, the Quakers complemented and influenced Handsome Lake's "new religion."

After 1812, however, Cornplanter became disillusioned with the Americans. Their increasingly shabby treatment of his people confirmed for him the earlier warning of Handsome Lake that Indian salvation demanded a turning away from white ways and a return to the best of Indian tradition. In remorse over his part in assimilating his people to the culture of the white man, Cornplanted burned his military uniform, broke his sword, and destroyed his medals; he closed the schools and dismissed the missionaries. Yet, despite this, he retained his affection for the Quakers, who now settled at Tunesassa, near the Allegany Reservation in New York state. He died at home on the Cornplanter Tract on February 18, 1836.

Cornplanter's descendants and other Indians continued to live on the tract. The community had its own school and its Presbyterian Church. Eventually, however, the population dwindled as residents moved to the adjacent, larger, and related Allegany Reservation of New York. Residence became largely seasonal, and in late 1964 the last inhabitant left, permitting Kinzua Dam to be closed and the reservoir flooded. The Cornplanter Indians would no longer call Pennsylvania their home.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1972. Text by Merle H. Deardorff, adapted by Harold L. Myers; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.



PENNSYLVANIA'S ROADS *BEFORE THE AUTOMOBILE*

This 1812 stone arch bridge stood until mid-twentieth century on Pa. 116 in Adams County. Lee's troops passed over it in their retreat from Gettysburg.

AMONG the states of this nation, Pennsylvania not only is outstanding for its present network of highways—including the Pennsylvania Turnpike and the Keystone Shortway—but it has played a prime role in the development of American roads. This role, which antedates both the invention of the automobile and America's founding as a nation, has been strengthened by Pennsylvania's strategic location as a gateway between the more settled East and the developing West.

Pennsylvania's first roads were the paths which the Indians made and traveled. After the European arrived and as settlement advanced, many of the old paths were widened, first for the white man's pack trains and then for his wagons.

In 1681 King Charles II granted a charter to William Penn creating the Province of Pennsylvania. As early as July 11 of that year, an agreement in England between Penn and various purchasers of land in the new Province stipulated that "Great roads from City to City not to contain less than forty feet in breadth shall be first laid out and declared to be for highways . . ." An act of the General Assembly on March 10, 1683, ordered each county court to appoint overseers every September to "summon . . . inhabitants . . . to Come in and Work at the Making of all highways and bridges . . ." By an act dated May 20, 1699, the justices of the county courts could provide for the laying out of "land roads or cartways," but all "king's highways or public roads" were to be laid out upon orders from the governor and Council.

Until the mid-eighteenth century it was the roads in southeastern Pennsylvania that received major attention. Goods could be transported by wagon in the eastern part of the Province, but west of Lancaster or (later) Carlisle the roads were generally inadequate. Goods for the "back country" were transferred to pack horse trains, usually of twelve to fifteen horses each. This greatly increased the cost of both imports and exports, and it was inevitable that the westward push of settlement would bring pressure for better roads in this region. There was, however, another factor, the military needs arising from the French and Indian War (1754-1763).

The first wagon road in western Pennsylvania was opened in 1752 from what is now Cumberland, Maryland, to the Youghiogheny River. In 1755 it was improved and extended to the Monongahela River by several hundred troops of the British General Edward Braddock, and thereafter it was known as Braddock's Road. The main force of the General's army then set out with its artillery and supplies over the rough roadway; its aim was to capture Fort Duquesne,

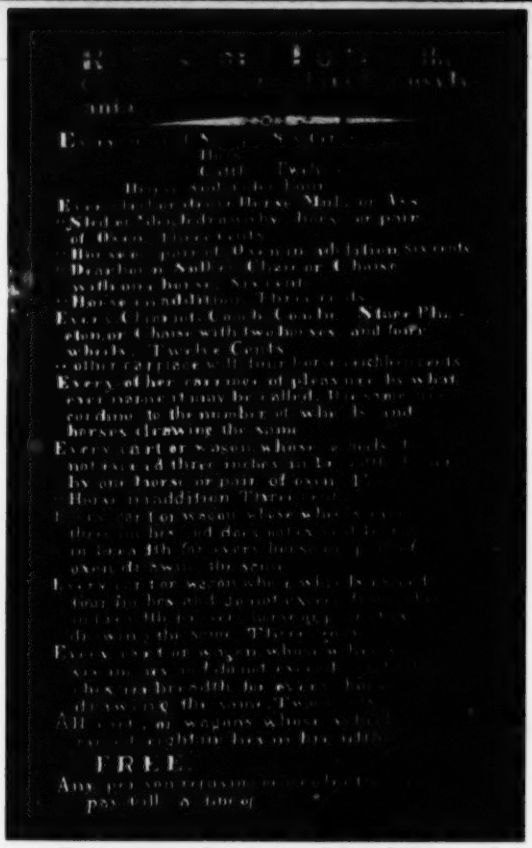
recently erected by the French at the Forks of the Ohio where Pittsburgh now stands. Only a few miles from its objective, on July 9, 1755, the army suffered a disastrous defeat and Braddock himself was killed.

Another road, from Shippensburg to the summit of the Allegheny Ridge, had been opened in 1755 under the supervision of James Burd. Three years later, troops under Brigadier General John Forbes reopened it to near Bedford and from there opened a road along the Indians' Raystown Path to about ten miles west of Ligonier. Known as Forbes Road, this route was used by the General's troops in a new effort to take Fort Duquesne. They arrived on the scene November 25, 1758, one day after the French had blown up the fort and abandoned it. During the remainder of the war, Forbes Road and other routes were maintained by the British forces to transport military supplies, but with the coming of peace they were allowed to deteriorate.

Between the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 and the close of the Revolution in 1783, some new roads were opened, but improvement was slow. In 1778 the Supreme Executive Council of the new State, taking note of complaints about the ruinous condition of many roads, ordered that the supervisors of roads and highways repair them or be prosecuted.

By the mid-1780's the tide was beginning to turn. On September 21, 1785, noting that "no state highway hath been heretofore laid out by public authority between the western parts of the county of Cumberland and the town of Pittsburgh," the General Assembly enacted legislation providing £2,000 for such a road. Following in part the route of the old Forbes Road, this Pennsylvania Road (as it was called) was finally completed in 1818. It became a main route for settlers and others traveling west into the Ohio Valley, and a century later it became the approximate route of the Lincoln Highway (U.S. 30).

In 1792 construction began in northern Pennsylvania on the famous Williamson Road. This was named after the land agent Charles Williamson, who had bought more than a million acres in Pennsylvania and New York state and wished to open them to settlement. During the



Toll sign from the National Road, West Alexander tollhouse near the West Virginia line.

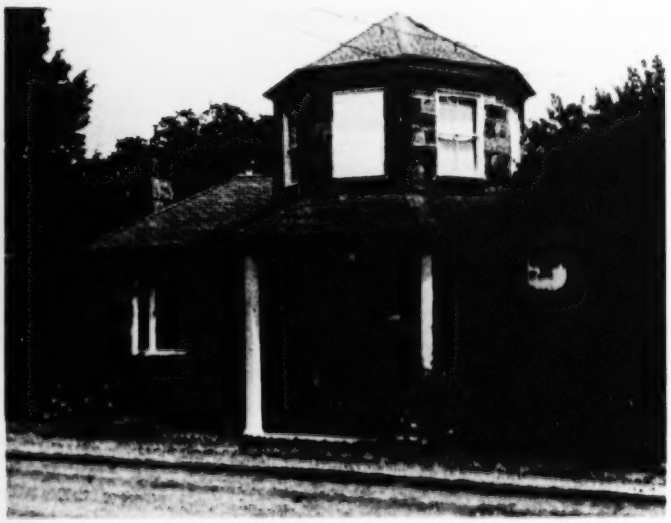
next four years, at his direction, this road was built through the wilderness from Trout Run to Lawrenceville—on at least one occasion the builders faced starvation until supplies reached them. After the road's completion in 1796 it became a key route for emigration into the northern country, and today U.S. 15 follows its general course.

The main road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, today in part the Conestoga Road east of Paoli and the King's Highway (Pa. 340) west of Downingtown, had proven inadequate. On April 9, 1792, however, the General Assembly incorporated the first private turnpike company in the United States to build the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road—135 years later an important segment of U.S. 30. Construction of the sixty-two-mile road began late that year and was completed some two years later at a cost of $464,000—less than half of what an average mile of superhighway costs today. It was built of broken limestone and of gravel of different sizes,

compacted and made firm by traffic. Later, after the success in England of a process called macadamizing, the road was relaid with crushed stone. The turnpike pointed the way for other turnpike companies in Pennsylvania and neighboring states.

Maps of the period show that the toll roads were most numerous in older and more populous areas of the State, whereas even the most important highways in the great north-central portion of Pennsylvania were generally "common roads," maintained by State and local authorities. In 1831, as Pennsylvania's turnpike movement was reaching its peak, there were 220 companies with approximately 2,400 miles in use.

The early nineteenth century also witnessed the construction by the federal government of the National Road. This highway was authorized by Congress in 1806 to facilitate transportation between the seaboard and the fast-developing West. The road began at Cumberland, Maryland—thus earning the additional title of "Cumberland Road"—spanned the Ohio River at Wheeling and continued to Illinois. As first projected the road was to pass through only a very small portion of this State, but Pennsylvania politicians succeeded in having it moved northward to pass through Uniontown and Washington.



Addison tollhouse on the National Road (now U.S. 40) in Somerset County.

Construction of the twenty-foot macadamized road proceeded slowly, however, and it was not until 1818 that the Ohio River was reached. In 1822 President Monroe refused to sign legislation for its repair, holding it unconstitutional. Although other appropriations for this purpose were approved thereafter, the funds generally were inadequate and the condition of the road declined. Finally the states agreed in 1835 to take over their portions. Thenceforth, toll was charged at six tollhouses in Pennsylvania, with different rates for various types of vehicles, animals, and pedestrians. Today this route forms a part of transcontinental U.S. 40.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, wagoning (also called freighting) accounted for the greater part of intersectional trade in Pennsylvania, although individual travel on horseback remained common (even for long distances on improved roads) until the advent of the railroads. Some heavily loaded wagons traveled great distances. Mr. Fortescue Cuming, journeying westward in 1807, met near Shippensburg two wagons from Zanesville, Ohio, each drawn by six horses and bound for Philadelphia; they had been a month on the road. Emigrants traveling west and livestock constituted two other important users during this period. Cuming met

> . . . families removing further back into the country, some with cows, oxen, horses, sheep, and hogs, and all their farming implements and domestick utensils, and some without; some with wagons; some with carts and some on foot, according to their abilities.

A vehicle of prime importance both in freighting and in the immigrant traffic was the Conestoga wagon, first developed about 1750 and built by Lancaster County artisans well into the nineteenth century. Also significant for passenger travel were stagecoaches, each generally drawn by four horses. The coaches varied somewhat in size and design, with one type accommodating about twelve passengers on four wooden benches arranged crosswise. As early as 1784 a stage line began operations between Philadelphia and Lancaster, and by 1804 had reached Pittsburgh via Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Bedford, and Greensburg. The trip required six or seven days and the fare was twenty dollars;

A stagecoach stops at the Logan House, an inn in Tyrone.

this service was partially subsidized through a contract for carrying the United States mail. For several years before and after 1835, when stagecoaching was at its height, two four-horse stages passed each way daily over the Pittsburgh Pike; on the National Road, where competition between rival lines was intense, eight stages daily transported passengers and mail.

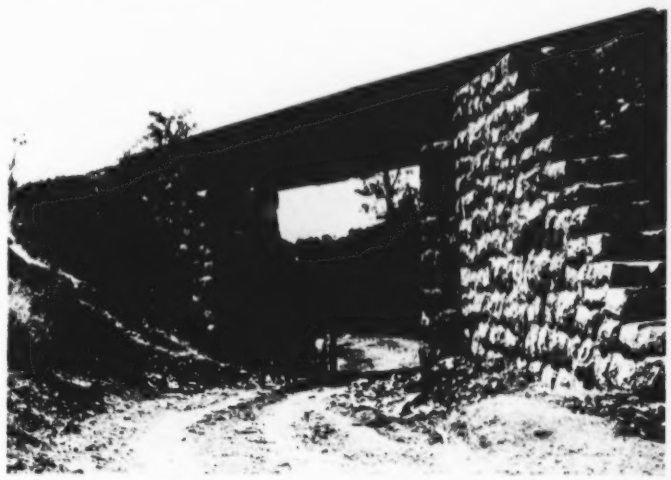
Adding to the picturesque character of many roads, especially the main thoroughfares, were the taverns. The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike was reputed to have one for every mile of road, and on the National Road they apparently were almost as numerous. These inns tended to be of three types—catering respectively to stagecoach riders, wagoners, and drovers of livestock—with prices and accommodations varying in relation to their trade.

Most roads, particularly local, were not so much built as simply cleared, with perhaps a little digging on the sides of hills or the erection of crude wooden bridges over smaller streams. Plank roads, made of heavy wooden boards laid across the road, were built around 1850, but proved too expensive to maintain. The best roads were generally the turnpikes and other main thoroughfares that were macadamized—graded and surfaced with stone and gravel—and indeed some roads on which toll was not charged came erroneously to be called turnpikes simply because they were improved in this manner.

The dominance of roads in Pennsylvania's inland transportation was first seriously challenged by the canal building which took place on a large scale during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. This dominance was conclusively ended by an even more formidable competitor, the iron horse. For long-distance and intercity transportation of both passengers and freight, people turned from the old highways to the mighty steam railroads and, by the last decade of the century, to electric trolley-car lines as well.

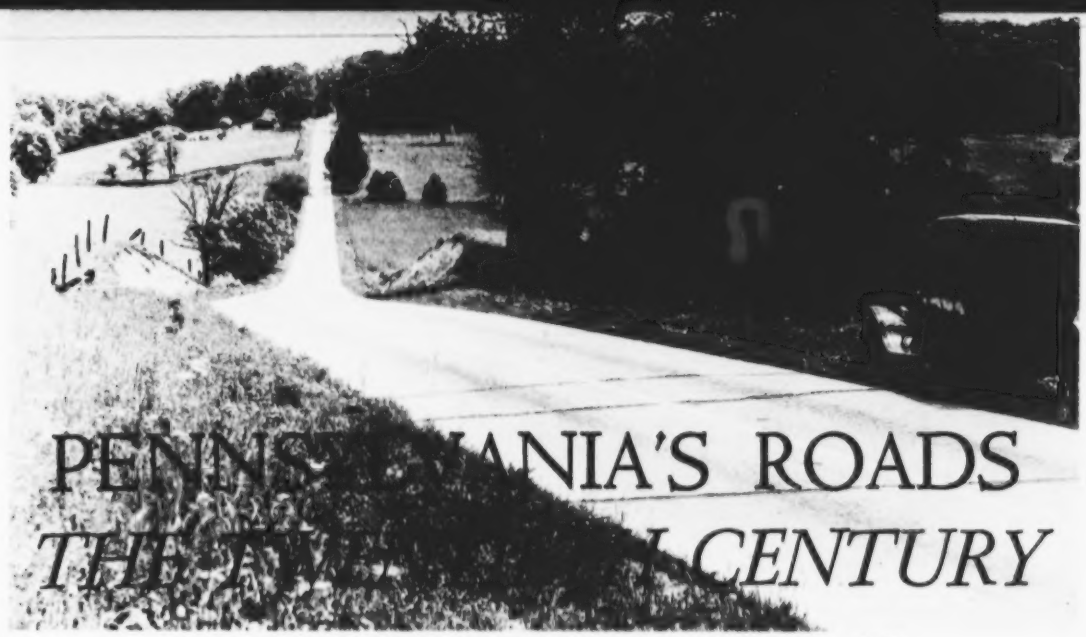
The rural farm-to-market roads, unpaved to begin with and under local government jurisdiction, suffered relatively little. It was what had been the better roads—the main through routes, and especially the turnpikes—that felt the most devastating effect. Increasingly, these roads yielded insufficient revenue to permit proper maintenance and many of them fell into serious disrepair.

Thus it appeared that roads had become the inevitable victims of progress in the form of the railroad. But, as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, developments occurred which were to dramatically turn the tables. Progress in a new form—that of the automobile—was to put the State's highways once more on the center stage of the transportation scene.



The Ringgold Road, now Pa. 997, passes beneath the Western Maryland Railroad between Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, and Ringgold, Maryland.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1972. Text by George R. Beyer; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.



PENNSYLVANIA'S ROADS
THIRD CENTURY

Route 5, later U.S. 322, in Crawford County north of Carlton, 1925.

DURING the 1890's," the automobile historian Ralph Stein has observed, "America's towns were tied to each other by the railroad, not the highway. At the edges of the cities the pavements suddenly disappeared and gave way to mere scratches across the landscape. These were the roads." The reason for this sad state was simple: people who had once used roads extensively now depended on railroads and, for shorter jaunts, electric trolley lines.

However, a challenge to the supremacy of the iron horse was beginning to take form. In 1893 J. Frank Duryea built America's first successful gasoline-powered automobile. (His brother Charles E. later manufactured motor cars in Reading.) By 1900 about 8,000 motor vehicles were registered in the United States; by 1905, 79,000. In those days motoring in the country often meant struggling through deep ruts or, in wet weather, through rivers of mud. There were no gasoline stations. Crude repairs were often made by the blacksmith or at the bicycle shop, and a motorist whose car had broken down might wait for a horse to tow him to town.

On April 15, 1903, the State Highway Department was created. (The name was changed to the Department of Highways in 1923.) At first the department had no highway mileage, but administered grants to counties, townships, and boroughs for road improvement and maintenance. Provision was made for the State to pay two-thirds of the cost of reconstruction—in 1905 it became three-fourths—with the balance to be shared by the county and township. An improved highway was to be "a macadamized, or a telford or other stone road, or a road constructed of gravel, cinder, oyster-shells, or other good materials . . . at all seasons of the year [to] be firm, smooth and convenient for travel."

There was, however, a growing conviction that responsibility for highway improvement needed to be more centralized to keep pace with the number of automobiles. On May 31, 1911, the General Assembly set up an 8,835-mile system of roads to be improved and maintained by the State Highway Department. These would be taken over from counties and townships or purchased from private turnpike companies. Some of the many miles still under local government jurisdiction were designated as State-aid highways, for which the State would now pay half of construction costs. By the middle of the decade Pennsylvania had about 98,000 miles of roads, the majority dirt.

Motoring on main highways—with a top speed limit of twenty-five miles an hour—was becoming easier. Not only were cars and tires much superior to those of a decade before, but road conditions were gradually improving. Most highway construction consisted, until many years

This road in South Fayette Township, Allegheny County, was a sea of mud in early April, 1916.

later, of improvements to existing routes. This included widening, the laying of hard surfaces (increasingly concrete or asphalt), and the occasional relocation of short stretches to eliminate especially sharp curves or steep grades. Repair garages and filling stations were becoming more numerous; indeed, what is said to have been the world's first "drive-in" gas station opened in Pittsburgh in 1913.

Two and a half million vehicles were registered in the United States in 1915—over five times as many as a half decade earlier. Pressure increased for federal aid to the states for road building, and on July 11, 1916, President Wilson signed the Federal Aid Road Act. The declared intent of this measure was to promote farm-to-market communication. It provided for grants to the states for the construction of "rural public roads," defined as "any public road over which the United States mails now are or may hereafter be transported." Then, in 1921, the Federal Highway Act provided that up to seven per cent of non-urban road mileage in each state be designated as "primary" and eligible for fifty per cent federal assistance. These two acts set a pattern for federal-state co-operation in road building which has endured.

The Twenties was a period of quickening progress, with greatest emphasis still on improvement of the main through routes. The first official Pennsylvania highway map, issued in 1925, shows that principal traffic arteries were for the most part paved, as were the secondary roads of the State's southeastern corner. America was becoming the motorized nation we know today. The number of persons traveling by railroad and trolley was starting to decline. Congestion and traffic were becoming serious problems on city streets. Families on weekend drives to the country were choking the two-lane roads on their return. Principal highways, far from bypassing towns and cities, generally followed their main streets into the central business sections—a fact that was regarded with satisfaction by civic leaders. The maximum speed limit on the open highway had risen to forty miles an hour by 1929; in town it was twenty. Increasing in numbers were roadside restaurants and filling stations, as well as tourist homes (private houses with accommodations for travelers) in the towns, and tourist courts or "cabins" on the outskirts. These, like the downtown hotels, and occasional taverns remaining from an earlier day, were almost invariably locally owned and partook of the particular character of their localities.

Pennsylvania writers and publicists sang the praises of the State's "picturesque" highways. Maps and guide books, in which hotels adver-

Workmen pave a road in Eden Township, Lancaster County, 1908.

136

tised prominently, were furnished by automobile clubs and publicity offices. Pennsylvania's improved highways, wrote John T. Faris in 1927,

> . . . make easy the access of all who will to the treasures of beauty and scenery, to the forests, the lakes, the rivers, the mountains. Merely to think of the long stretches of perfect surface on the Susquehanna Trail, the Lackawanna Trail, the Lincoln Highway, the William Penn Highway, and a dozen other arteries, is to long for the touch of the hand on the steering wheel and the pressure of the foot on the gas.

Outstanding was the Lincoln Highway, connecting the State's two largest cities. Stretching from New York to San Francisco, this route was proclaimed in 1913 by the Lincoln Highway Association, which fostered its improvement. By 1928 the transcontinental system of U.S.-numbered through highways was in use in Pennsylvania, and at about the same time, an expanded State-numbered system came into being.

Campaigning for the governorship in 1930, the noted forester and progressive Gifford Pinchot promised to "get the farmers out of the mud." The following year, after Pinchot had taken office, the State took over 20,156 miles of township roads and began paving them, using light construction costing less than $7,000 a mile. As the depression deepened during 1931, this road-building program, through the use of a minimum of machinery and a maximum of hand labor, became an important means of providing work relief.

Special federal programs also benefited the State's highways during depression years. Thus an allocation of National Industrial Recovery highway funds in 1933 amounted to almost $19,000,000. Beginning late in 1935 and continuing for the next seven years, men were assigned to various Pennsylvania road projects under the work-relief program of the WPA (Works Progress Administration). A high of 143,000 men was thus engaged in November, 1938.

The most important single highway development of the late Thirties was the creation, May 21, 1937, of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. With a $29,250,000 federal grant and

Traffic on U.S. 30 in Ardmore, 1931.

a $40,800,000 purchase of Turnpike bonds by the federal government's Reconstruction Finance Corporation, construction began late in 1938. On October 1, 1940, the first long-distance superhighway in America opened, a 160-mile, four-lane toll road from Middlesex (west of Harrisburg) to Irwin (east of Pittsburgh). Whereas motorists crossing the mountains on U.S. 30 had climbed an accumulated 13,880 feet up nine per cent grades, Turnpike travelers climbed a mere 3,900 feet on three per cent grades.

America's entry into World War II ended the production of civilian cars and trucks, brought gasoline rationing, and reduced speed limits to thirty-five miles to conserve fuel. Built for higher speeds, the Pennsylvania Turnpike was now used largely to transport military men, munitions, and equipment. In 1943, traffic on other roads was less than half what it had been two years earlier.

With the end of wartime controls, traffic volume returned to and then exceeded pre-war levels. New rights-of-way were mapped out and cities and towns were bypassed to facilitate high-speed traffic. Such projects included the Penn-Lincoln Parkway in Pittsburgh, the Schuylkill Expressway into Philadelphia, the new U.S. 22 connecting Harrisburg and Easton, and the Harrisburg-York Expressway. Among the major post-war improvements were the extensions of the Turnpike to Valley Forge in 1950, the Ohio line in 1951, the Delaware River in 1954, and Scranton in 1957. The Turnpike was joined by the New Jersey and Ohio turnpikes to form part

of a high-speed toll road connecting New York and Chicago.

The Federal Highway Act of 1956 established a new 41,000-mile National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, commonly known as the Interstate system. Ninety per cent of the cost of constructing toll-free highways in the system was to be paid by the federal government. These are all limited-access highways, built with four lanes or more and with gentle curves and easy grades. The construction costs for Pennsylvania's 1,576 miles have ranged from a million dollars a mile through rural areas to several times that around Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The most celebrated is probably the 313-mile Interstate 80, known as the Keystone Shortway, part of a 2,899-mile Interstate highway between New York and San Francisco.

Outside the Interstate system, some 500 miles of Pennsylvania roads had by the early seventies been designated by the Appalachian Regional Commission as corridors for two- and four-lane Appalachian Development Highways. These highways are intended to attract industry into the areas they serve.

By the opening of the nineteen-seventies there were 113,000 miles of roads and streets in Pennsylvania. The Department of Highways had responsibility for some 44,000 miles, the townships about 49,000 miles. The number of motor vehicles registered in Pennsylvania in 1970 was 5.8 million—two and a half times the 1949 figure—and it was estimated that 8.4 million licensed drivers would operate some 7.6 million vehicles by 1990. Highway travel accounts for about ninety-five per cent of Pennsylvania's intercity traffic. Concern has been increasingly expressed about traffic congestion, pollution, the inadequacy of public transportation, and the need for alternatives to new freeways in built-up areas.

Two developments have occurred which help point the direction for the future. One is the creation on July 1, 1970, of a Department of Transportation (supplanting the Department of Highways) and a State Transportation Commission. Another is the establishment of procedures, by federal and State legislation, for determining the environmental impact of proposed highway projects and for minimizing any adverse effects before such projects are approved. Thus, concrete recognition has been given to two increasingly accepted principles. First, highway development should be carried out not apart from or in competition with other forms of transport but as a part of a *balanced* transportation system. Second, the finished highway should be in *harmony* with the total environment, whether rural or urban.

U.S. 22 and 322, on the Juniata River, has been transformed into a scenic four-lane highway in Perry and Juniata counties. Note a stretch of the old two-lane highway beside it.

The future may bring new means of locomotion impossible now for us to visualize. But so long as there are cities and valleys and mountains and horizons in Pennsylvania, and so long as there are people with the need and the desire to travel forth, there will be roads—different though they may be from the roads of today.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1972. Text by George R. Beyer; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.

THE LIBERTY BELL

THE Liberty Bell is one of our nation's most treasured relics. Every year millions of visitors to the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia file past the big, familiar bell. Rung on July 8, 1776, to celebrate the Declaration of Independence, the bell is a fitting symbol of freedom in our land.

In 1732 the Province of Pennsylvania began the construction of a State House, now Independence Hall, to house the meetings of the General Assembly. In the 1740's the brick tower and the main staircase were added to the building, and in 1753 a wooden steeple. In 1751 Isaac Norris, the Speaker of the Assembly and a superintendent of the State House, proposed that a bell be installed, and with the two other superintendents requested the agent of Pennsylvania in London to order it. Norris was a wealthy and scholarly Quaker who knew the Bible. In the letter, Norris and his collegues asked that the bell be cast with the words, "Proclaim Liberty thro' all the Land to all the Inhabitants thereof," from the tenth verse, twenty-fifth chapter of the book of Leviticus. A greater part of the verse reads, in the words of the King James version, "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you . . . ." This ancient proclamation of amnesty was chosen to honor the fiftieth anniversary of the Charter of Privileges, granted to the people of Pennsylvania and Delaware by William Penn, their Proprietor. This charter conceded to the Pennsylvania Assembly the fuller legislative powers it had demanded, and had in fact exercised, for several years. Thus, the bell was intended as a commemoration of liberties which were insured fifty years before, not as a prophecy of liberty to be gained twenty-five years later.

In 1752 the bell arrived from the Whitechapel Foundry of London, where it was designed and cast by master founder Thomas Lester. On the first stroke of the clapper in the New World, a crack appeared in the brim, ruining the sound! The bell was recast by two Philadelphia foundrymen, John Stow and John Pass, who substituted the year 1753 for 1752 and their own names for those of the original founders. The bell was hung and a great feast was given: the founders, however, had added too much copper and the bell's tone was poor. Stow and Pass were criticized so much for this that they asked permission to recast it once more. This time tin was added and in June, 1753, the bell was again mounted in the steeple. The full inscription reads:

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF LEV. XXV/X
BY ORDER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR THE STATE HOUSE IN PHILADA

PASS AND STOW
PHILADA
MDCCLIII

As the official town bell, its main purpose was to call the Assembly to its meetings. Members who were late or absent were fined and the money was given to the Pennsylvania Hospital. The bell also called town meetings, served as a fire alarm, celebrated the conclusion of wars, and tolled the deaths of great men.

Not all of Philadelphia appreciated the bell. Residents near the State House complained about its frequent ringing, which, they said, could be fatal to the sick, and in 1772 they sent a petition to the Assembly. No remedy was forthcoming, but the Assembly did take action on another problem. It voted to rebuild the steeple after fears had been expressed that the vibration from the ringing might cause it to collapse.

Meanwhile the State House bell was tolling the deepening crisis with Great Britain. The bell which had rung in honor of King George III now rang in protest against his government. It summoned the Assembly to petition for repeal of unwanted taxes. It tolled the closing of the port of Boston and proclaimed the rising opposition to Britain's policy in America. It rang when word was received of the battles at Lexington and Concord, which opened the Revolutionary War. It called the Continental Congress to give George Washington command of the Continental Army. All these were events which sharpened the conflict with Great Britain and led to the Declaration of Independence. The bell, in an even deeper sense, was now to fulfill the instruction, "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND. . . ."

Independence was resolved by the delegates to the Second Continental Congress on July 2, 1776, and the Declaration formally adopted by the Congress on July 4. Additional time was needed to publish copies and distribute them to the colonies and to arrange a public celebration. Therefore, Monday, July 8, was designated as the day the Declaration was to be read in the State House courtyard.

The day of celebration dawned bright and clear. The public was summoned to the ceremony by the ringing of the bell. By noon a crowd of several thousand had gathered outside the State House. The members of the committees of safety went in a large body to the courtyard, where the Declaration was read by John Nixon, a prominent member of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety. After the reading, the State House bell and all the bells of the city pealed and the crowd gave a cheer. The militia paraded and fired a salute. That evening the King's coat of arms was brought from the hall in the State House, where the King's courts were formerly held, and burned, to the cheers of the crowd. The following year, 1777, independence day was observed on July 4, the date the Declaration was adopted, and the State House bell pealed out in celebration.

Independence had its price, however, and as

Independence National Historical Park Collection.

Philadelphia's bells, escorted by cavalry, were convoyed to Allentown to escape British capture.

the summer of 1777 progressed, the citizens of Philadelphia prepared as the British army, under General William Howe, marched toward the city. One fear that troubled the authorities was that the occupation force would seize the bells and melt them into balls for their muskets. Some people suggested that the bells be dumped into the Delaware River, and others proposed that they be sent to Lancaster. On September 18, 1777, the bells were placed in a caravan of seven hundred wagons guarded by two hundred North Carolina and Virginia cavalrymen, and taken to Allentown, where they were kept in the basement of the Zion Reformed Church. After the British had evacuated Philadelphia in June, 1778, the bells were returned to the city. Once again, on July 4, and on every July 4 thereafter until it finally cracked, the State House bell was rung.

The State House bell was to ring important events for another sixty years. It was rung October 24, 1781, to announce the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown and the defeat of the British in America. On April 16, 1783, it proclaimed the treaty of peace, which recognized

American independence. It celebrated the admission of new states and tolled as, one by one, the signers of the Declaration of Independence died. One such memorable occasion was July 24, 1826, when the bell tolled the passing, on July 4, of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, each a signer and former President. When news arrived an immense crowd gathered in the courtyard. On the spot where the Declaration had been publicly read, a platform was erected and covered with black cloth. Over this a canopy was draped in black on which was laid the nation's flag. The bell was muffled and tolled. The bell which had hailed the Declaration, which Jefferson had penned and Adams had signed, and celebrated their oathtaking as President, now tolled their departure from this life.

The traditional date for the cracking of the bell is July 8, 1835—the occasion, the death of John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States. The bell was not rung again until February 23, 1846, when it joined the celebration of Washington's birthday. The sides of the crack had been drilled apart in the hope that the sound would be improved. The experiment failed—indeed, the ringing worsened the crack. We see the result today, a zigzag cleft nearly three-fourths of an inch wide running from the rim up into the inscription. At the top and bottom of the breach, large bolts now hold its sides in place.

To discourage vandals, the Liberty Bell was displayed inside a glass and mahogany case.

Alexander Outerbridge, a Franklin Institute metallurgist, has suggested three reasons for the cracking of the bell. It could have been caused by the brittleness of the original bell, he says, by Pass and Stow's addition of copper to strengthen the metal and their use of tin to restore its tone, and by the remelting, which made it weaker, less resilient, and more brittle.

Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell belong today to the city of Philadelphia, which purchased the property for $70,000 from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1816. In 1828 the bell narrowly escaped being scrapped by its new owners. The city had been renovating Independence Hall and hired John Wilbank to cast a bell to use with the new steeple clock. As partial payment, Wilbank was to get the State House bell, which was estimated to have a junk value of four hundred dollars. Then Wilbank discovered that his costs would be higher than expected. He left the bell hanging in the steeple and the city of Philadelphia sued him for breach of contract. Wilbank agreed to pay court costs and Philadelphia accepted his "gift" of the bell.

The State House bell, known at first as the Bell of the Revolution or Old Independence, came to be called the Liberty Bell in the 1840's when the American Anti-Slavery Society employed it as a symbol of freedom. This abolition group published in 1839 a book entitled *The Liberty Bell*, by "Friends of Liberty," which was distributed at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair. The bell's picture, without the crack, appears in the front of the book with a sonnet

suggested by the bell's inscription. Rays of light issue from the bell in all directions.

Legend and sentiment grew and spread. The most popular story of the Liberty Bell was that of the old bell ringer waiting in the tower to ring out the news of independence on July 4, 1776. To save himself running up the stairs, he asked a small boy to listen to the proceedings of Congress in the Assembly room, and when

On view at the San Francisco Exposition.

he heard the expected news, to run to the tower and shout it to him. This story was put into popular verse, well known to children in school. The story was widely accepted as true in 1854, and helped stir popular sentiment toward the bell. Another story that was widely accepted asserted that the bell had cracked on July 4, 1776, at a public reading of the Declaration.

The public was finally given the opportunity to see the bell. In 1852 it was brought down from the tower of Independence Hall and placed on exhibit. In the years that have ensued, it has been mounted in the Hall in several ways. At one time it was hung by a chain of thirteen symbolic links. During another period it was displayed in a glass and mahogany case to protect it from souvenir hunters and vandals, who had clipped forty pounds of metal from its lip.

Due to the growing popularity of the Liberty Bell, requests to exhibit it began to arrive. The bell was sent on its first long journey in 1885 to be exhibited at the Cotton States Industrial Exposition in New Orleans as a symbol of reconciliation between North and South, twenty years after the Civil War. It was also exhibited in Chicago, Atlanta, Boston, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Charleston, South Carolina. In 1893 the bell was returned to Allentown, where it had once been taken to safety.

Requests for the bell continued, but a group of Philadelphians who were concerned that it might be damaged, including some descendants of signers, used their influence to end its travels. In 1907 a new crack, an extension of the old, had been discovered. It extended up and around the crown for nearly one-fourth the bell's circumference. The cause was the strain on the bell occasioned by the original fracture; this was eased by the design and installation of an interior brace.

The bell continued to be used, however, in support of patriotic causes. During the First World War it was paraded through the streets of Philadelphia. Likewise, on the day of the World War II invasion of Normandy, during radio broadcasts to America and to American troops overseas, the bell was tapped with a rubber mallet, one stroke for each letter in the words "independence" and "liberty."

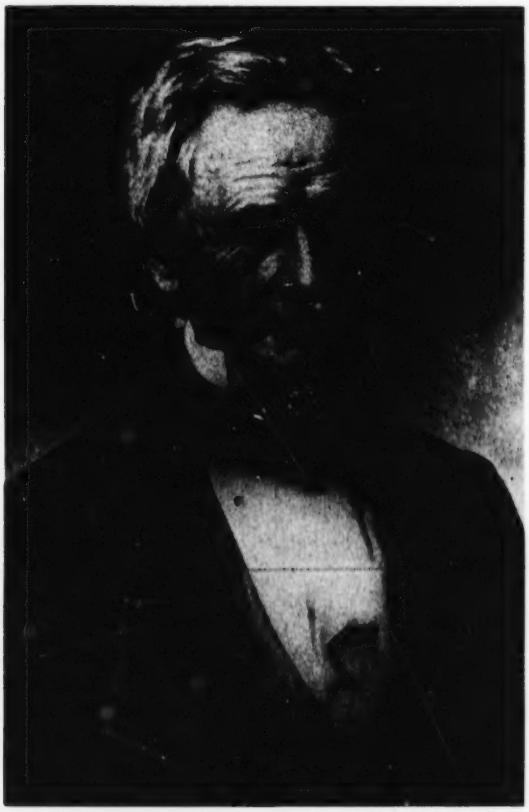
There have been proposals for repairing the bell so that it might ring once again. In 1959, the Mears and Stainback Foundry, successor to the Whitechapel Foundry in London, offered to repair the Liberty Bell without charge as a gesture of gratitude for America's part in World War II. Melford O. Anderson, the Superintendent of Independence Hall, replied, however, that bell and crack would remain as they were, a symbol of freedom to Americans.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1974. Text by Christine Sweely; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.

SIMON CAMERON

SIMON CAMERON, the most politically powerful man in mid-nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, was born in the Lancaster County village of Maytown, March 8, 1799. The third son of a poor tailor, descended from Scotch Presbyterians, he was to set the course of Pennsylvania politics for nearly a half century.

When he was six, Simon's struggling family moved to Sunbury. When he was eleven he was apprenticed to the town's leading physician and at seventeen to the editor of the *Northumberland Gazette*. A year later—1817—he went to Harrisburg and began a short but successful career as newspaper editor and owner, becoming the leading Democratic journalist in the capital and an influential editor west of Philadelphia. Political favor came to him early: in 1822 he was chosen to be State printer, and in 1829 he was appointed adjutant general of the State militia by Governor Shulze, his sister-in-law's brother. Though he served but two years, he was known as "General" to the end of his life.



National Archives

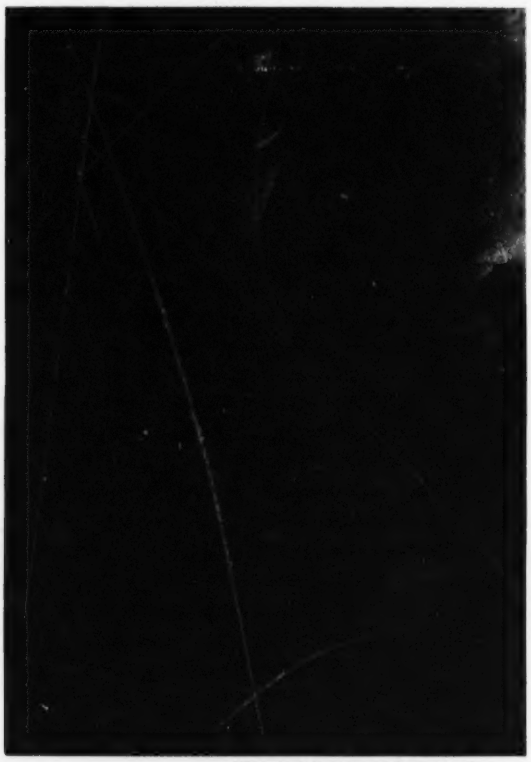
For the decade after 1867, Cameron dominated Pennsylvania's political scene.

Although he had been a Calhoun Democrat, Cameron switched his support in 1828 to Andrew Jackson, Calhoun's opponent for the presidency. Four years later at the first national convention of the Democratic party, Cameron helped to swing enough votes to nominate Jackson's Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, as a presidential candidate. Cameron also persuaded a fellow Pennsylvanian, James Buchanan, to seek a Senate seat and helped engineer his election. In 1838, at Buchanan's suggestion, President Van Buren gave Cameron the responsibility of reimbursing the Winnebago Indians of the Wisconsin Territory for lands taken from them by the federal government. Cameron was accused of cheating the Indians, charges that were never proved, but the scandal followed him through life.

Best known as a politician, Cameron was also a success in business. In 1826 he undertook the building of a section of the Pennsylvania Canal along the Susquehanna River. He was then asked in 1831 to organize the construction of a canal from Lake Pontchartrain to the Mississippi River at New Orleans. The following year he received the charter for the Bank of Middletown, of which he was cashier. With the backing of his own bank, he embarked on railroad building. In 1834 he asked James Buchanan to be president of one of the railroads, the Lancaster and Portsmouth, which ran from Lancaster to Middletown, where it joined the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. In December,

1860, he leased the Lancaster and Portsmouth line to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for 999 years at $82,000 per year, to be paid to Cameron and his stockholders.

In 1845 Cameron first sought election to public office. That year President James K. Polk persuaded Buchanan to leave the Senate and become his Secretary of State. Cameron decided to win Buchanan's seat in the Senate by defying his own party. The national Democratic party promoted low tariffs and free trade, while Cameron proposed higher import duties to protect Pennsylvania industry against foreign competition. Confidently he challenged his party's choice before the General Assembly and was elected by a coalition of opposition Whigs and high-tariff Democrats. This cost him many of his friends in the Democratic party, in particular the President.



Historical Society of Dauphin County

Simon Cameron as a rising power in Pennsylvania politics and commerce. Portrait by an unknown artist.

He served in the Senate until 1849, when he was defeated. In 1857 he again opposed the choice of the Democratic party and was elected by a coalition in the General Assembly calling itself the Republican party, a coalition of Native Americans, Free Soilers, Whigs, and high-tariff Democrats.

Eighteen-sixty was a presidential election year and to the Chicago Republican convention the delegates from Pennsylvania brought the name of their favorite son, Simon Cameron. His support was negligible, so a deal was made with Abraham Lincoln's aides to give Pennsylvania's convention votes to the Illinois hopeful. As payment the aides promised Cameron a post in the Cabinet. When Pennsylvania swung to Lincoln at the convention, many of the smaller state delegations followed its lead. Lincoln was disturbed by the deal made with Cameron, but for reasons of politics appointed the Senator as Secretary of War.

Lincoln and his cabinet took office in March, 1861, as the national crisis deepened and civil conflict threatened. Cameron became Secretary of War at a most critical time, and his performance during ten months as head of the War Department has been criticized and defended. The war came quickly. On April 13, Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, was seized by the Confederates. Lincoln responded with a call for 75,000 volunteer troops. It was Cameron's responsibility to supply and equip this force, to provide transportation, and to organize his Department for war. The military capacity of the United States government at the beginning of the war was woefully inadequate.

As Secretary of War, Cameron made some questionable appointments, and was charged by critics with serious mismanagement. There were also charges of corruption in the awarding of contracts; Cameron himself was accused of profiting from the war by diverting traffic to his Harrisburg to Baltimore railroad. Cameron further aroused opposition by suggesting to the President that the slaves within territory

held by Union forces be freed and that former slaves be used as troops. The President and the Cabinet, however, feared that to arm them would further divide the nation and rejected the idea. Yet times change and two years later Lincoln, realizing the political gains that could be made, accepted the proposal and put it into effect.

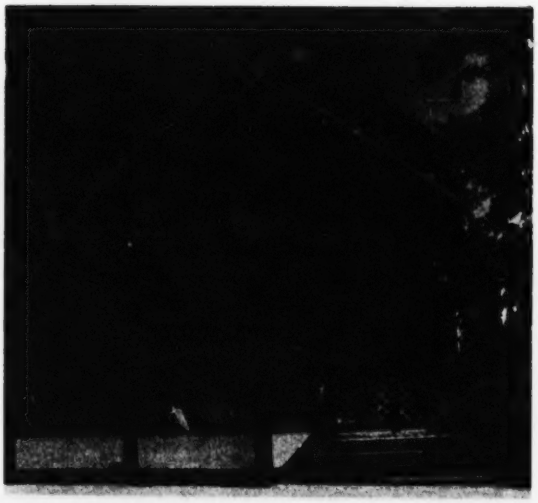
Beset by opposition, personal antagonism, and military setbacks, and under censure by the House Committee on Government Contracts, Cameron resigned as Secretary of War in January, 1862.

The President then appointed Cameron to fill the vacant post of Minister to Russia. In St. Petersburg the new Minister was received at the court of the Czar, Alexander II, whom he congratulated for freeing the serfs, declaring that Lincoln would soon free the slaves. He gained the support of Russia for the Union, a crucial decision which was one factor influencing France and Britain against entering the war on the Confederate side.

By January, 1863, Cameron had returned home to seek election to the Senate from Pennsylvania. The Democrats had a majority of one in the legislature and so Cameron used all the influence he could to win a majority for himself. He failed in his attempt and was accused of bribing one, and possibly two, of the Democratic legislators. However, the State Attorney General, a Republican, chose to ignore the charges and Cameron never came to trial.

Cameron obviously would have to find a way to strengthen his influence in Pennsylvania. He was out of office in 1864, so he offered his services to the President during the re-election campaign that year. Because Cameron started a letter-writing campaign in support of the President, a movement to dump Lincoln was thwarted. In his gratitude, Lincoln consulted Cameron regarding federal appointments in Pennsylvania and placed loyal Cameron men in influential positions. Although out of office himself, Cameron was building his base of power.

After Lincoln's death in 1865 the new President, Andrew Johnson, continued Lincoln's policy regarding appointees. But Cameron saw that

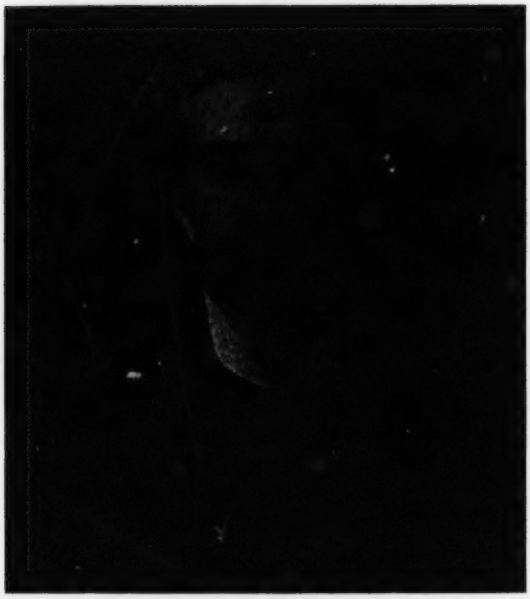


Cameron residence, Harrisburg, about 1885.

Johnson's popularity was slipping among the Radical Republicans who controlled the State and who wanted a sterner policy toward the South. Cameron decided to abandon the President and see to it that a man of his own choosing was elected governor of the State. This occurred in 1866 when Democratic influence was so low that a Republican victory was assured. Cameron gained control of the Republican caucus and had an ally, John Geary, nominated and elected.

In 1867 Cameron ran again for the U.S. Senate. He had to defeat his archrival and wartime governor, Andrew Curtin, to win the nomination and gain control of the Pennsylvania Republican party. Cameron managed to win a majority of the caucus votes and the nomination, and with the Democrats out-numbered almost two to one, he was elected. He emerged as the leader of the Republican party in Pennsylvania; a Cameron would manage its politics for decades to come.

In the Senate Cameron pushed hard for higher tariffs, making himself the major exponent of the protective tariff from the leading protectionist state. In 1869 he joined forces with the most powerful transportation monopoly in the State, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and succeeded in having a Cameron man, John Scott, a former railroad counsel, elected Senator from Penn-



Historical Society of Dauphin County.

J. Donald Cameron, heir to Simon's political empire.

sylvania. Cameron now had amassed enough power to decide Pennsylvania's representation in the United States Senate. In 1871 Cameron, on the basis of seniority, succeeded to the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He remained there until his retirement.

Back in Pennsylvania he picked up a new lieutenant in Matthew Quay, a powerful man from western Pennsylvania, who along with Cameron's son and political heir, J. Donald, would control Pennsylvania politics into the twentieth century. In the 1872 gubernatorial election, Cameron's man won over a coalition of Democrats and Andrew Curtin's Liberal Republicans by "waving the bloody shirt" to remind the voters of the Republican role in preserving the Union. The Curtin followers were finished after twenty-five years of fighting Cameron, for in the following year Simon Cameron was returned to the Senate unopposed by any Republican in Pennsylvania.

In 1875 his chief concern was a political office for his son. Donald had never run for public office, but he moved easily through political circles as his father's mouthpiece and right-hand man. A Democratic majority in Pennsylvania in 1875 made impossible Donald's election to the Senate, so Simon urged President Grant to appoint Donald to his Cabinet. While he was negotiating for his son's future he scored a personal triumph when Congress, by unanimous vote, withdrew its censure of 1861. He could now retire with his name cleared and, if his plans succeeded, the reins of power in the hands of his son.

In May, 1876, Donald became Secretary of War and assured the election of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes as President. Donald sent federal troops to the three southern states whose votes would decide the contested election. For this he expected an appointment to the Hayes Cabinet, but Hayes refused him. According to Cameronian politics it was the height of ingratitude.

Simon saw clearly what he must do to continue the Cameron dynasty. On March 12, 1877, he tendered his resignation to the Pennsylvania legislature. The following day the Republican caucus unanimously nominated J. Donald Cameron for the seat. A week later he was elected to the Senate by a majority of the Assembly, tagged by its critics as the "Cameron Transfer Company."

Simon retired to his newly purchased farm at Donegal Springs in Lancaster County, a few miles from his birthplace, and spent the last years of his life supervising the growing of tobacco, entertaining his old political friends, and traveling. He died there of a stroke on June 26, 1889, at age ninety. With his passing a significant chapter of Pennsylvania history came to a close. He left behind a large fortune both political and monetary to his son Donald, the political based on a patronage system held together by personal loyalty to one man, Simon Cameron.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1974. Text by Carol A. MacKay; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.

The Battle of Brandywine

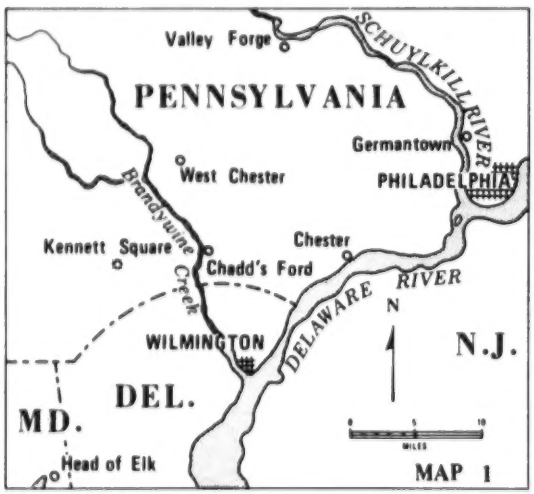
ON AUGUST 24, 1777, in the third year of the American Revolution, General William Howe with 13,000 British and 5,000 Hessian troops landed near Head of Elk, Maryland, his goal being to seize Philadelphia. (MAP 1) By September 9, his army was at Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, six miles west of the Chadd's Ford Crossing of Brandywine Creek. Facing him from the east side of Chadd's Ford, about five miles downstream from the point where the creek divides into east and west branches, was George Washington with 11,000 American soldiers.

Although dry weather had left the Brandywine shallow, it provided a considerable obstacle. Trees grew thickly to the banks, making it impassable to an army except at the fords. There were, however, no fewer than three of these between Chadd's Ford and the forks of the Brandywine, and another (Pyle's) just below Chadd's. Immediately above the forks, the east branch of the creek was crossed by Buffington's Ford and, a mile and a half farther up, by Jefferis' Ford. Across the west branch, less than a mile from the forks, was Trimble's Ford.

The region was inhabited chiefly by Quakers, whose religious views made them neutral. Most local families who favored the American cause had fled. Thus, Washington got sparse information, and much of that was inaccurate—he was told, for example, that there was no ford above Buffington's for twelve miles. Furthermore, the rolling and forested nature of the ground prevented good observation.

Washington deployed General Anthony Wayne's brigade and Colonel Thomas Proctor's artillery on high ground east of Chadd's Ford, covering the crossing. General William Maxwell's brigade was moved across the creek to form an outpost line on a hill, blocking the Kennett Square-Chadd's Ford road. General John Armstrong and about a thousand Pennsylvania militiamen were posted to cover Pyle's Ford. General John Sullivan's division extended northward along the Brandywine's banks. Farther upstream was General Adam Stephen's division, and beyond that was General Lord Stirling's division. Detachments under Colonel Moses Hazen were at each of the upstream fords, up to and including Buffington's. The brigades of Generals Peter Muhlenberg and George Weedon, comprising General Nathanael Greene's division, were in reserve behind Wayne. With them was most of the light horse, under the Polish volunteer, Count Casimir Pulaski. Other light horsemen were sent to scout west of the Brandywine to report any British movements.

Perhaps with Tory help (Joseph Galloway, a prominent Philadelphia loyalist familiar with the region, was with the British), Howe had better information than Washington. Instead of a head-on attack against prepared defenses, he planned a wide flanking movement. One part of his army would advance on Chadd's Ford in a demonstration to preoccupy Washington; the rest, screened by hills and woods, would march north, cross the creek's west branch at Trimble's Ford, cut northeast to Jefferis' Ford,



MAP 1

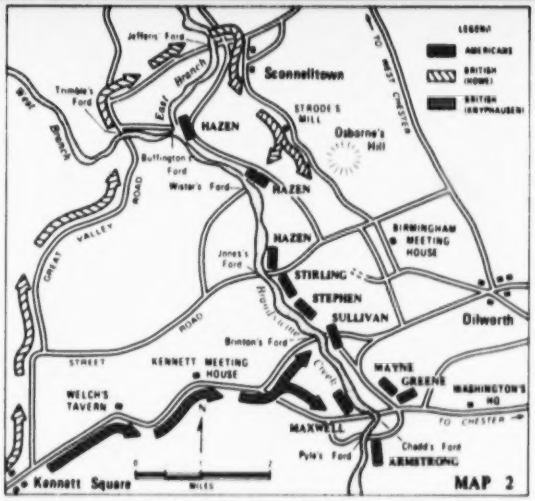
then turn southward to drive down on the Americans.

As if to favor Howe's maneuver, heavy fog blanketed the area when the flanking column began its march early on the morning of September 11. Howe took the lead, heading a force of 13,000 British and Hessian troops.

Having a much shorter distance to go, the other force—under the senior Hessian officer, General Wilhelm Knyphausen—did not move until 9 A.M. Within a few minutes its advance guard surprised a detachment of American light horsemen who were refreshing themselves in the taproom of Welch's Tavern. After one volley, the Americans abandoned their mounts and fled to cover in the woods. About a mile beyond, the British ran into stiffer opposition from Maxwell's advance line, sheltered behind the graveyard walls of Kennett Meeting House. This slowed Knyphausen's movement but did not halt it, and Maxwell's main outpost line was soon breached. By shortly after ten o'clock, Knyphausen had deployed on the high ground opposite Wayne's position and was digging in. While his artillery began a desultory bombardment and Proctor's cannon replied, Knyphausen marched other detachments back and forth between the hills. The Americans watching from the other side of the creek, seeing what appeared to be column after column of redcoats, became convinced that Howe's entire array was facing them.

Meanwhile, Howe's column did not go completely unobserved. At some time after 10 A.M. reports reached Sullivan from American light horse under Colonel Theodorick Bland, scouting west of the Brandywine, and from Lieutenant Colonel James Ross that they had seen what appeared to be two British brigades moving up the Great Valley Road toward Trimble's Ford. When this word reached Washington, he decided that Howe had divided the British army. With the enemy exposed to defeat in detail, Washington ordered Greene to strike across the creek. Greene's leading elements quickly waded the Brandywine and drove off the enemy troops entrenching the crests above the ford.

While this was going on, another messenger arrived from Sullivan. A local militia officer, Major Spear, had ridden from the forks of the Brandywine to Welch's Tavern, seeing no sign of British troops. Washington now concluded that Greene's division was attacking the entire



British army. Hurriedly, he ordered Greene back to his original position. Washington was so sure that Spear's information was correct that when Sullivan's aide, Major John Eustace, rode up to report that he too had seen British forces on the Great Valley Road, Washington laughed at him.

In the meantime, Howe's column had moved past Trimble's Ford. Near Jefferis' Ford, Howe and his staff halted long enough to drink the quantities of wine which some Wilmington merchants had stored at Ammon Jefferis' house, having thought it would be safe there from British raiders. Before resuming the march, Howe pressed Jefferis into service as a guide. By about 2 P.M., the force had passed the hamlet of Sconnelltown and was near Osborne's Hill, where there was a halt for the troops to rest—the day had grown exceptionally warm—and eat while scouting parties reconnoitered to the south. (MAP 2)

About 1:15, Colonel Bland, now back on the east side of the Brandywine, had seen what he estimated to be two British brigades just west of Strode's Mill, but it was around 2 P.M. before this information reached Sullivan and he could start it on to Washington. Shortly afterward, Squire Thomas Cheyney, a prominent local figure who was a strong patriot, arrived to tell Sullivan that he had barely escaped capture by the British and that there were many more than two brigades of them. Sullivan thought that Cheyney's estimate was exaggerated, but did give him a pass to take his story to Washington.

When Cheyney was finally admitted to the Commander-in-Chief, the General at first was skeptical. Once persuaded, however, he wasted no time, and orders sped to Stirling, Stephen, and Sullivan to move immediately to the high

140

ground where the Birmingham Meeting House stood athwart the British approach route, about a thousand yards south of Street Road. Sullivan, as the senior of the three, was to exercise overall command.

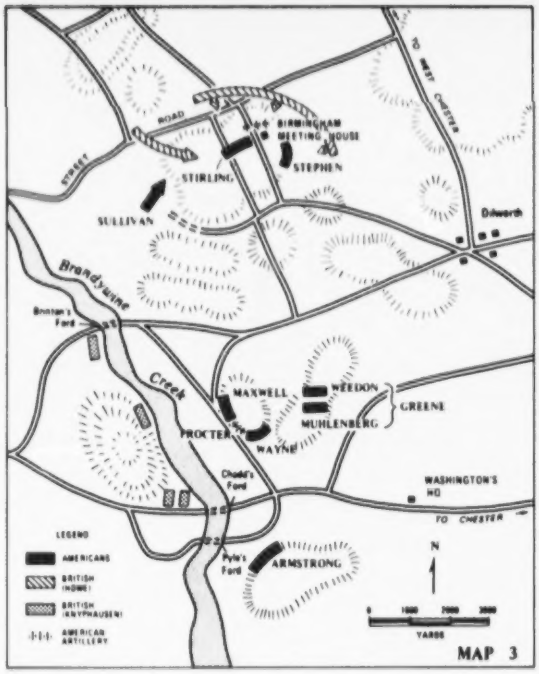
Stirling and Stephen reached the Meeting House a little before 4 P.M., Stirling's division deploying on the left of the building and its surrounding stone wall, and Stephen's on the right, the outer ends of both lines curving southward to follow the contours of the hill. Five cannon were posted at the center. Skirmishers formed a line in an orchard at the intersection of the Sconneltown-Dilworth and Street roads.

The British force had split at Strode's Mill. One column swung to its right across the fields to get around the left flank of the Americans at Birmingham Meeting House. The rest continued down the Sconnelltown-Dilworth road. Just north of Street Road they deployed, their ranks extending well beyond the American right flank.

Sullivan had farther to go than Stirling and Stephen. Before he could reach them he heard firing as Hessian advance elements drove the American skirmishers out of the orchard. Then Sullivan's leading regiment caught sight of British troops to their front, considerably closer than Sullivan to Stirling's position. Hastily, Sullivan directed Colonel John Stone to attack with his regiment, to try to gain time for the rest of the division to close the gap on Stirling's left flank. (MAP 3)

Stone and his men raced toward the British, who halted and opened fire. Seeing this, Sullivan's rear brigade delivered a volley. This fire did not reach the enemy but plowed into Stone's hapless troops from the rear, and they broke and fled. As Stone wrote later, "I can scarcely blame them when I consider their situation."

The rest of Sullivan's division pushed on and deployed, still some distance to Stirling's left. Sullivan himself rode over to confer with Stirling and Stephen. The generals could see the scarlet ranks, stretching well around to the right, threatening to outflank Stephen's position. All three agreed that Sullivan should shift his division to reinforce the right wing. Riding back, Sullivan gave the necessary orders, but as his men moved out they were hit by a British attack and most of them fled. Although the American artillery began a sharp bombardment to hold off the British, Sullivan was unable to reassemble



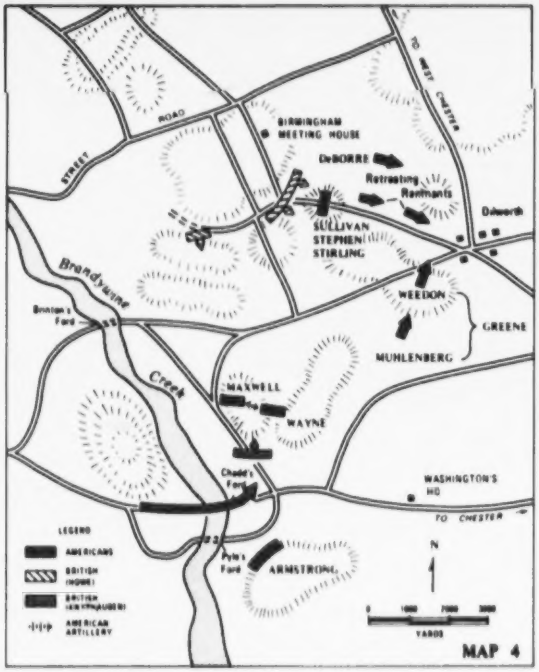
MAP 3

his men, and he galloped back to the Meeting House.

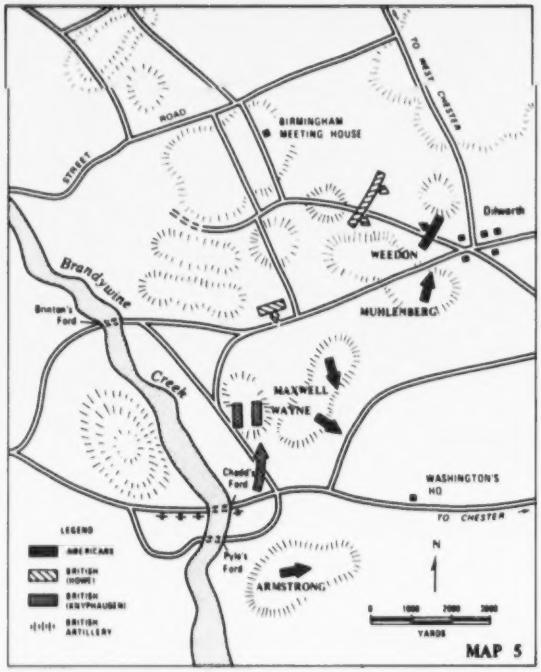
The British pressed their attack. The Americans laid down a telling fire, slowing the British advance, but being steadily forced backward on the flanks. After almost an hour, the British were close enough to launch a bayonet charge against the American right flank, held by a brigade under a French volunteer, General Prud'Homme de Borre. As the scarlet line drove in, De Borre panicked and fled, followed by his brigade (later, he resigned rather than face a court of inquiry). Under increasing pressure, the Americans on the left also gave way, but the center held on.

In the meantime, the sound of the battle had carried to Chadd's Ford. Washington immediately ordered Greene out of reserve to reinforce the troops at Birmingham Meeting House, and Greene's men, Weedon's brigade in the lead, were soon pelting across the fields. Then, as the gunfire swelled, Washington turned over command at Chadd's Ford to Anthony Wayne. Guided by a local farmer, Joseph Brown, the General and his aides started for the battle in a cross-country gallop reminiscent of Washington's fox-hunting years in Virginia.

While Greene and Washington were on the way, the threat of imminent encirclement forced the Americans to abandon Birmingham Meeting House. With most of the artillery horses dead, the cannon had to be left behind. The troops fell back half a mile along the Dilworth



MAP 4



MAP 5

road to a hill, where they formed another line. There the British struck them again, but were hurled back—not once, but five successive times. However, the Americans' ammunition ran low, and few were armed with bayonets; at the next British charge the surviving Americans began streaming down the hill.

At this point Washington reached the scene and, with his staff, tried to rally the men, disregarding the hail of British bullets. But all efforts proved fruitless.

Meanwhile, Weedon's men arrived—they had double-timed four miles in about forty minutes—and deployed at a narrow defile on the Dilworth road a little to the rear. They parted ranks to let the retreating troops pass through, then closed up again, halting the pursuing British with volley after volley.

While all this was going on, Knyphausen had been busy at Chadd's Ford. Despite heavy fire from Proctor's cannon and the infantry of Wayne and Maxwell, he pushed across the creek, overrunning the artillery and driving the infantry out of the trenches. (MAP 4) Wayne fell back into a nearby field and orchard, where fighting was hand-to-hand until the Americans retreated to another hill just to the south. For a time there was a breathing spell while Knyphausen started moving his artillery across Chadd's Ford. Then Wayne saw more British troops coming down from the north, and a messenger arrived with word of the defeat of Sullivan's force. Hopelessly outnumbered, Wayne withdrew toward Chester. At Pyle's Ford, General Armstrong (whose militia had not been engaged) also ordered a retreat.

But on the north, Weedon's troops were successfully buying time for the rest of the army to escape. Their fighting withdrawal slowed the British pursuit, and darkness brought it to a standstill. (MAP 5) Howe did send cavalry to try to cut the road to Chester, but the British troopers were beaten off by American light horse led by Pulaski. By midnight, considerable numbers of Americans had reached the comparative safety of Chester, and the rest trickled in through the remainder of the night.

While Howe had defeated the American army, the unexpectedly bitter resistance he met had kept him from his goal of crushing it. Nor had American morale been crushed. As Washington's report to Congress stated, "Notwithstanding the misfortune of the day, I am happy to find the troops in good spirits; and I hope another time we shall compensate for the losses now sustained." Although the British occupation of Philadelphia, another American defeat, at Germantown, and a bitter winter at Valley Forge would intervene, Washington's hope would eventually be realized.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1988. Second edition. Text by John B. B. Trussell, Jr.; maps by the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation; edited by Harold L. Myers.

The Battle of Germantown

Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington.

THE Revolutionary War was brought home to Pennsylvania with a vengeance when, on September 26, 1777, a detachment of British troops under Lord Charles Cornwallis occupied Philadelphia. This event climaxed a month-long campaign during which 18,000 British and Hessian soldiers under General William Howe had landed at the northern end of Chesapeake Bay, defeated George Washington's forces at the Battle of Brandywine, and evaded all subsequent American attempts to block their progress toward the American capital. But Howe remained wary of the Americans, who were camped only thirty miles northwest of Philadelphia along Perkiomen Creek between Pennypacker's Mills and Trappe. Accordingly, he put the bulk of his remaining force—some 9,000-10,000 troops—at Germantown, five miles above Philadelphia, covering the likely avenues of approach from Washington's position.

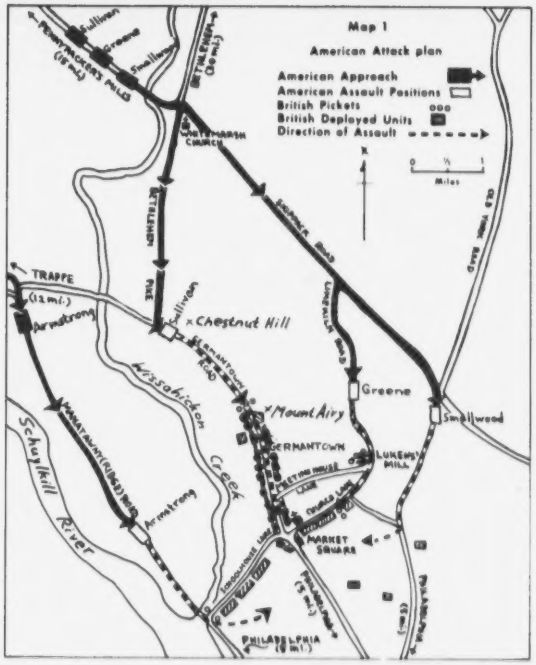
Three such routes converged a short distance south of Germantown. Running close to the banks of the Schuylkill River was the Manatawny, or Ridge, Road. A mile or so to its east was the Germantown Road. About the same distance still farther east was the Skippack Road, which crossed the Bethlehem Pike (connecting at its southern end with the Germantown Road) to intersect northeast of the village with the Old York Road, leading thence to Philadelphia.

Germantown itself was a two-mile-long hamlet of stone houses from Mount Airy, on the north, along the Germantown Road to an intersection called Market Square. Extending southwest from the Square was Schoolhouse Lane, running a mile and a half to the point where Wissahickon Creek empties through a steep gorge into the Schuylkill. To the east of Market Square, Church Lane stretched another mile and a half to Lukens' Mill, where it converged with Meeting House Lane and, as Limekiln Road, curved up to meet the Skippack Road at a point some three miles to the north.

The hilly country, together with the heights along the Wissahickon and the Schuylkill, provided good defensive positions. Howe established his main line of resistance along Schoolhouse-Church lanes. The western wing, under the Hessian General Wilhelm Knyphausen, had a picket of two Jaeger battalions at its left flank on the high ground above the mouth of the Wissahickon; extending northeastward to Market Square were a Hessian brigade and two British brigades. East of Market Square, under General James Grant, were two more British brigades, two squadrons of dragoons, and the 1st Battalion of the Light Infantry regiment. Farther to the east, covering the Old York Road approach, was a New York Tory unit, the Queen's Rangers. On the Germantown Road at Mount Airy was an outpost consisting of the 2nd Battalion of the Light Infantry, backed up half a mile to its rear by the 40th Regiment of Foot (later designated the Queen's Lancashire Regiment), under Colonel Thomas Musgrave. A detachment of the 1st Battalion of the Light Infantry was posted as a picket near Lukens' Mill. As a reserve, two battalions of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards (the modern Grenadier Guards) were located near the center of the main line, a little over a mile southeast of Market Square.

On the Perkiomen, the ill-trained Americans were underfed and poorly clothed; many were barefoot; and they had been defeated and outmaneuvered. Nevertheless, their morale was good and they were still full of fight. Accordingly, when Washington learned that numerous detachments had weakened the enemy force at Germantown, he was confident that he could attack it successfully.

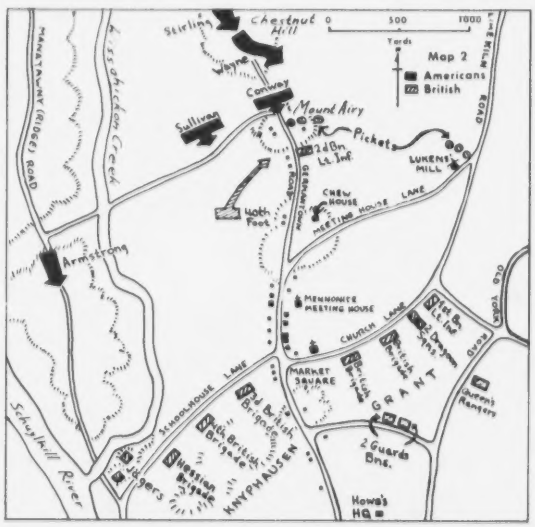
The plan he adopted was ambitious, contem-

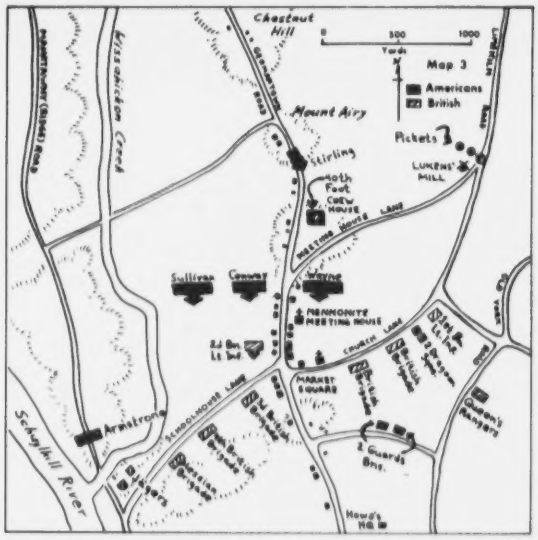


plating a coordinated assault by four separate columns aiming at a double envelopment. (MAP 1) One column, consisting of Pennsylvania militia under General John Armstrong, would move down the Manatawny Road to slip past the Jaegers at the mouth of the Wissahickon to get into the British left rear. Another column, made up of Maryland and New Jersey militia under General William Smallwood, was to proceed down the Skippack Road to the Old York Road, which it was to follow to get behind the British right. General John Sullivan, with the Continental troops of his own division and that of General Anthony Wayne, and followed by the reserve division under General Lord Stirling, would turn south off Skippack Road at Whitemarsh Church and follow the Bethlehem Pike to Chestnut Hill, where he would storm down the Germantown Road against Howe's center. The fourth column, under General Nathanael Greene and comprising Greene's and General Adam Stephen's divisions and General Alexander McDougall's brigade (all Continentals), would follow Smallwood down the Skippack Road as far as Limekiln Road, where it would turn south to hit the British right flank on Church Lane. Washington himself would accompany Sullivan's force. All columns were to reach their jump-off positions (two miles from the British pickets) by 2 A.M. on October 4, halt until 4 A.M., and then start moving forward so as to strike the British outposts simultaneously at 5 A.M. Mounted couriers were to assure coordination of timing between the columns; and for identification in the darkness of early morning, each man was to wear a piece of white paper in his hat.

Sullivan's column made its march without difficulty and was in position on schedule. Time passed, however, and there was no word from the other forces. Unknown to Washington, both Greene and Smallwood had got lost. Smallwood's mission was not particularly significant, and relatively little weight was placed on Armstrong's share of the operation, but Greene's role was vitally important. However, notwithstanding the lack of a report from Greene, Washington assumed that Greene was at his assigned position and at the scheduled time ordered Sullivan to launch his assault.

The leading element of Sullivan's column—General Thomas Conway's brigade—struck the picket at Mount Airy just as the sun was rising. There was a sharp fight, in which the British 40th Foot hurried up to reinforce the Light Infantry battalion, but the Americans drove the enemy before them. (MAP 2) The Light Infantry, running low on ammunition, was covered by Musgrave as it and part of the 40th fell back to Schoolhouse Lane. Musgrave and six of his companies—some 120 men—then found themselves cut off, so they raced to the cover of a nearby stone mansion (its owner, former provincial Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, was in prison in Fredericksburg, Virginia, as a suspected Tory), barricaded its downstairs doors and windows, and manned the upstairs.





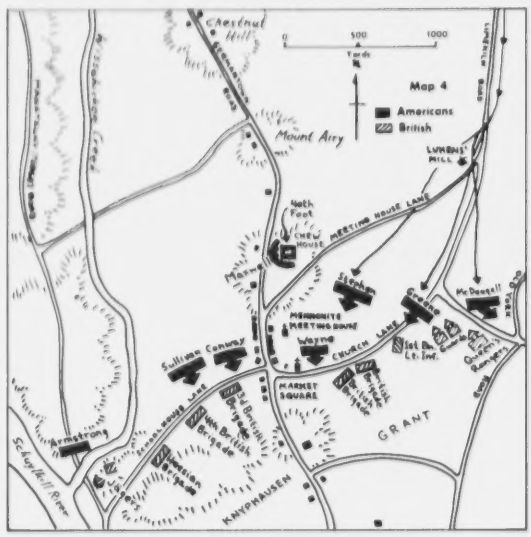
By this time, Sullivan's entire column had deployed, with Wayne's division left of the Germantown Road, Conway's brigade extending to its right, and Sullivan's own division still farther to the right. The going over open fields, obstructed by fences and occasional brooks, was not easy. To make matters vastly worse, almost as soon as the sun had risen it was obscured by a dense fog, soon thickened by gunsmoke, so that visibility was severely limited. Nevertheless, the Americans by-passed the strongpoint Musgrave had established and pushed rapidly on toward Market Square. (MAP 3)

Meanwhile, Armstrong's column had appeared in front of the Jaeger picket at the river. Although this force limited itself to firing a few rounds of light-caliber cannon shot, it did preoccupy the Hessians on Howe's left flank. Toward the center, the British moved into the stone houses along Germantown Road and opened a steady fire on the long line of Sullivan's, Conway's, and Wayne's men. However, the American line pushed on, sweeping resistance before it. Howe saw his defense about to disintegrate, and was beginning to think of ordering his whole army, including the troops in Philadelphia, to retreat to Chester, where he could count on the naval gunfire support of the British fleet in the Delaware.

While this was going on, Washington and his staff had reached the Chew house, where Colonel Musgrave still held out. British sniping from the upstairs windows attracted American attention. After some argument, General Henry Knox convinced Washington that such a threatening strongpoint should no longer be by-passed, and General William Maxwell's brigade was ordered out of reserve to surround the building.

Lieutenant William Smith went forward toward the house with a surrender demand, but was shot down, mortally wounded, despite the flag of truce he carried. Then field-pieces were brought up to lay a barrage to cover an infantry assault. But the stone walls of the house were proof against the three-pound cannon balls, and the assaulting infantrymen were scythed away by the British fire. Those few who reached the house were bayonetted as they tried to force their way through the doors and windows. Finally, volunteers went forward to try to set fire to the house with bundles of flaming straw, but none survived to reach his goal.

During all this, Greene's column to the north had finally got back on the right road and had made contact with the British picket at Lukens' Mill. Deploying with Stephen's division on the right, Greene's in the center, and McDougall's brigade on the left, it drove in the picket and started rolling up the British right flank. Perhaps because of the fog, and certainly because of the confusing orders Stephen gave (a court-martial later cashiered him for having been drunk), his division veered right from its assigned line of advance and followed Meeting House Lane instead of converging with the rest of Greene's force on Market Square and making contact with Wayne's left flank. Suddenly, dimly through the fog, Stephen's men caught sight of the rear of a deployed line to their left front



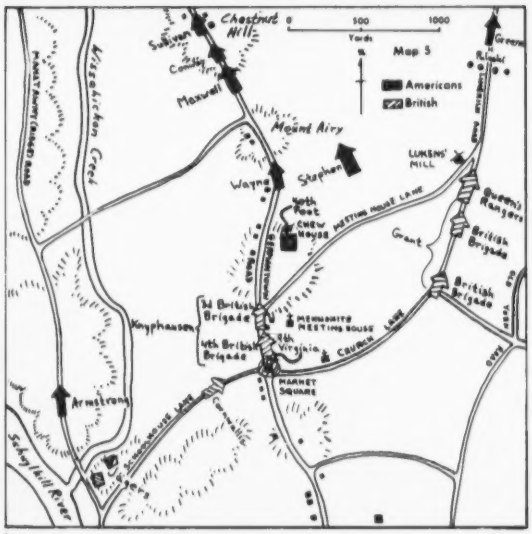
and fired into it. The troops they attacked returned their fire, but began to show signs of confusion. (MAP 4)

And well they might, for these men were not British troops, but Wayne's Continentals. Already running low on ammunition, hearing the outbreak of heavy firing from the Chew house, and being suddenly attacked from the rear, they believed they were about to be cut off. Their assault, which was on the verge of smashing the British center, came to an abrupt halt, and despite their commander's frantic efforts they began to fall back. Their withdrawal left Conway's left flank unsupported, and his men, pressed by the British opposing them, also began to withdraw, soon followed by Sullivan's division. At this juncture, General Francis Nash, commanding a North Carolina brigade which had been detached from the reserve to reinforce Sullivan, was mortally wounded.

On the north, McDougall's brigade had also gone astray, leaving Greene's left flank exposed to an attack by the Queen's Rangers and the Guards of the British reserve. But Greene's division continued its drive down Church Lane. The 9th Virginia, leading the division, burst into Market Square and the men began cheering in triumph. Until this noise gave their presence away, they had been hidden by the fog, but now the British nearby closed in and opened fire. There was a desperate fight for a few minutes. The Virginians suffered heavy casualties; finally, when they were completely surrounded and every officer from the colonel down had been wounded, they surrendered.

The British assault on the 9th Virginia developed into a general counterattack as the two British brigades on the left of Market Square were ordered into the fight and Cornwallis arrived with reinforcements who had double-timed from Philadelphia. The advance was slowed but not halted when General James Agnew, at the head of his 4th Brigade, was killed by a civilian sniper named Hans Boyer, firing from behind the wall of the graveyard of the Mennonite Meeting House.

Greene, learning that Sullivan's column was retreating and that he now stood alone against the whole British force, ordered his men to withdraw, but they fell back fighting. On the



Americans' extreme right, orders from Washington finally sent Armstrong's militia moving to the rear. Smallwood, who had never reached the battlefield, withdrew as well. (MAP 5)

Taking up the pursuit, part of the British moved north after Greene and the rest northwest, following Sullivan's column. On both routes, the pursuit continued for some nine miles, but was called off due to the bad roads and the rear-guard actions organized along the way by Wayne's artillerymen and the cavalry under the Polish volunteer, Count Casimir Pulaski.

There was no panic, but the American troops had had enough. They continued their retreat in good order, halting only when they had passed Perkiomen Creek. They had lost 1,073 officers and men killed, wounded, and missing (the British admitted to 521 officers and men killed and wounded) and they had failed in their objective. But a hard core of determined men remained, to see further fighting at Whitemarsh, to endure the cold and starvation of Valley Forge, and to form the nucleus of sustained resistance that would bring final victory at Yorktown.

Germantown was unquestionably an American defeat, but its near success, combined with the victory of the American army under General Horatio Gates at Saratoga barely two weeks later, on October 17, had a major impact on European thinking. Taken together, the two events comprised a factor of no mean significance in bringing about the alliance with France which contributed so substantially to the eventual outcome of the war.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1974. Text by John B. B. Trussell, Jr.; edited by Donald H. Kent and William A. Hunter.

GIFFORD PINCHOT

GIFFORD Pinchot, America's first professionally trained forester, rose to national prominence as a conservationist and political progressive under the patronage of President Theodore Roosevelt. Equally noteworthy was his election twice as Republican governor of Pennsylvania. As a politician he fought for wiser use of natural resources and for fuller justice for the average citizen. His struggle for reform, particularly with leaders in his own party, made him a center of continual controversy.

Gifford Pinchot during his second term as governor.

Pinchot, born to wealth on August 11, 1865, at his family's summer home in Connecticut, chose to earn his ample inheritance by working for the betterment of society. After studying at Yale, he furthered his education at a French forestry school, where he learned the value of selective rather than unrestrained harvesting of forests.

In 1898, Pinchot was appointed chief of the Division of Forestry (later the Bureau) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, a recognition of his advanced training in forestry and the need to protect American forests. In 1905, the Bureau was given control of the national forest reserves, and was renamed the Forest Service. President Roosevelt, a fellow Republican whom Pinchot greatly admired, allowed him considerable independance in the administration of the Service. Pinchot in turn imparted to his staff a spirit of diligence and a sense of mission.

It was Roosevelt and Pinchot who gave the name "conservation" to the movement for the preservation and wise use of all natural resources. They observed what they considered to be the reckless exploitation of these resources for private profit, and they predicted that unless scientific management of resources was required, America would fail to meet its future needs. Under Pinchot, the Forest Service added millions of acres to the national forests, controlled their use, and regulated their harvest.

Roosevelt's Republican successor, President Taft, lacked enthusiasm for government ownership of land. This was one of the questions that divided Roosevelt and Taft in 1912, and led to the formation of the Progressive party, with Roosevelt as its presidential candidate. Pinchot supported the new party, which proposed such radical reforms as the regulation of child labor, a minimum wage for women, and unemployment insurance. After Roosevelt's defeat, Pinchot strove in vain to keep the party from dissolving.

In 1914, Pinchot ran for the United States Senate as a Progressive against the incumbent, Boies Penrose, who managed the Republican organization in Pennsylvania. Pinchot campaigned for women's right to vote; prohibition of the sale and use of alcoholic beverages; a graduated income tax—a tax to be determined by the ability to pay; workers' compensation for injuries on the job; recognition of labor unions

for collective bargaining; and other radical-for-the-time reforms.

During his unsuccessful campaign, Pinchot married Cornelia Bryce, daughter of a wealthy and prominent family, and they had a son, Gifford Bryce Pinchot. Mrs. Pinchot's boundless energy and crusading spirit matched her husband's. She addressed housewives demanding the vote and factory workers and miners seeking justice; she marched in picket lines; and she presided as hostess at frequent receptions. Mrs. Pinchot not only campaigned for her husband but unsuccessfully sought election three times to Congress and once to the governorship.

After his campaign, Pinchot promoted American involvement in the European war and opposed President Wilson's neutrality. The Progressives had returned to their old parties, and Pinchot, who was in opposition to the President, reluctantly rejoined the Republicans. Upon Wilson's re-election in 1916, Pinchot turned from national to State politics.

In 1920, Governor Sproul appointed him Commissioner of Forestry, in which position he initiated administrative changes and refused to grant political patronage. His goal, however, was the governorship, where he believed he would have greater opportunity to bring about the reforms he proposed. His campaign for that office, in 1922, concentrated on reforms that could arouse the greatest popular support—government reorganization and economy, enforcement of prohibition, and regulation of public utilities. To achieve a broader electoral base and gain the support of Joseph Grundy, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association and a political power in the State, he played down some of his earlier proposals for reform. Aiding him too was the fact that Republican leaders were divided over a replacement for party chief Boies Penrose, who had recently died.

Pinchot won a close election. The new Governor, however, had no intention of being absorbed by the bosses, through what he termed the "amoeba treatment," and stubbornly persisted with his reforms, often annoying his supporters as well as hardening his opponents. He began his administration by tightening State spending. Typically, he took but a portion of his salary. He persuaded the Assembly to pass an administrative code. This standardized salaries and gave the Governor power to reorganize the executive branch of government and reduce duplication by combining 139 agencies into fifteen departments and three commissions. A pension system was also introduced, to be financed by the employees and the State.

Mrs. Pinchot waves after addressing an assembly of miners in Uniontown, April, 1934.

Gathering public support through the adoption of these measures, the Governor made further proposals. He asked the Assembly to pass

legislation to enforce the federal prohibition of alcoholic beverages. Only one bill passed, however, and money for enforcement had to be obtained from the Women's Christian Temperance Union, since the Legislature would not appropriate the funds.

Always a strong adversary of the public utilities, he proposed now that the Assembly connect electric companies into a tightly regulated State-wide system with combined facilities. This would forestall the creation of private monopolies, lessen the cost of electricity for the user, and extend service to all, particularly to farmers. The Governor's plans were dashed when utility lobbyists defeated nineteen of his bills in Assembly.

The miners of anthracite coal struck twice during his first term of office. The first strike, in 1923, lasted only a week due to Pinchot's decisive arbitration. The strike of 1925 continued for six months and again Pinchot's forceful mediation was necessary. President Coolidge, cautious about government intervention in such a matter, remained aloof. Annoyed by the inactivity of the President, Pinchot called both sides for daily meetings, finally achieving a compromise.

The Governor retired from office at the end of his term, having improved the efficiency and economy of State government. His enthusiasm had affected his subordinates, creating an *esprit de corps* among them.

Following another unsuccessful attempt to make him the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, the Pinchots took a seven-month cruise of the South Seas. Pinchot, author of several books, wrote one about the voyage. (The scientists aboard the ex-governor's schooner found a new species of fish, which they named *binthosema pinchoti.)*

In 1930, Pinchot won election to a second term as governor. There he battled for the regulation of public utilities, relief for the unemployed, and construction of paved roads to "get the farmers out of the mud." For two years, he and the Assembly fought over the utilities issue. The Governor went straight to the people through the newspapers, radio, and the mail. Although the House passed three bills to regulate rates, the Senate sided with the utilities and the proposals were defeated. He also placed his own men on the Public Service Commission, which he then sought to control, and through it the utilities. Pinchot believed in "the principle of Theodore Roosevelt that it is the duty of a public servant to do whatever the public good requires unless it is directly forbidden by Law."

Governor Pinchot swings a pick to begin the paving of twenty thousand miles of Pinchot roads.

The Depression hit Pennsylvania severely, and by 1931 there were almost a million unemployed. The Governor took a personal concern for the needy. Before taking office he founded a committee on unemployment. He gave more immediate assistance also, such

as to a woman who was jailed and fined $17.90 for killing a woodpecker to feed her children.

Realizing that State aid would not be sufficient to curb the effects of the Depression, he was one of the first of the governors to decide that federal aid was needed. Pinchot gave a moralistic tone to the relief effort as he continually urged State and federal governments to aid the deprived. In response, President Hoover and the Congress established the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to assist banks and businesses, and eventually extended direct aid to the states. State and federal funds for the unemployed were distributed on a non-partisan basis by the Pennsylvania State Emergency Relief Board.

Governor Pinchot recognized other neglected groups in Pennsylvania. Women, Jews, and blacks were included in his administration. "Pinchot Roads" were promoted for the benefit of the farmer to transport his product to the consumer. Economical, but adequate, means were devised to pave twenty thousand miles of road. A limited amount of machinery was used so that more work could be given to the unemployed. This was probably the accomplishment for which Pinchot was best remembered.

In 1933, the bituminous coal miners at U.S. Steel's "captive mines" struck. The mine owners refused to recognize the United Mine Workers union, despite federal law requiring collective bargaining. The National Guard was called in but admonished by Pinchot to remain neutral. Pressure exerted by Pinchot and President Franklin D. Roosevelt caused the company to recognize the union.

With Pinchot's approval, a special session of the Assembly ratified the Twenty-first Amendment to the federal Constitution, which repealed the prohibition amendment. The Assembly also established the Liquor Control Board, a State monopoly for the sale of liquor.

During his last year as governor, Pinchot, for the third time, ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination for election to the U.S. Senate. As usual, he received little assistance from the leaders of his party, whom he had greatly annoyed by supporting the economic recovery programs of Democrat Franklin Roosevelt. During the last three months of his term, the Governor was confined to a New York City hospital and Mrs. Pinchot in effect became the acting governor. In 1938, he bid again for the nomination for governor, but the Republican voters overwhelmingly defeated him. He was seventy-two.

In his remaining years, the ex-governor gave advice to the President, wrote a book about his life as a forester, and devised a fishing kit to be used in lifeboats during World War II. On October 4, 1946, he died, age eighty-one, of leukemia. The Pinchots' mansion, Grey Towers, in Milford, has been given to the U.S. Forest Service to serve as a museum and training center for foresters.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1976. Text by Patricia E. Bixler; edited by Harold L. Myers.

153

Courtesy Cooper Square Publishers

The Battle of Wyoming And Hartley's Expedition

PROBABLY no episode of the Revolutionary War caused more horror and outrage among Americans than the so-called "Wyoming Massacre" on July 3, 1778.

The Wyoming Valley, a twenty-five-mile stretch along the Susquehanna River's North Branch, was claimed by both Pennsylvania and Connecticut, but since late 1775 the Connecticut faction had been in control, with men from the valley serving in Connecticut Continental regiments and holding office in the Assembly at Hartford. It was also a large grain-producing area. This, with the good communications the river provided to more populous areas downstream, made the valley, despite being on the frontier, an important source of provisions for the American army.

But the same river led upstream into territory dominated by the Iroquois, operating under the New York Tory, Major John Butler, as allies of the British. And from Butler's viewpoint, Wyoming was an attractive target: its productivity made its destruction worthwhile; with Connecticut too remote to protect it and Pennsylvania unwilling to help a settlement which rejected Pennsylvania jurisdiction, it was vulnerable; and the river made it accessible. There was the added advantage that considerable numbers of the inhabitants were Tories. Butler had detailed information from Tories who had fled, and he could count on aid from those who had not.

As early as February, 1778, therefore, Butler began sending small raiding parties to collect up-to-date information and put the settlers on edge. The growing danger brought many of the inhabitants into one or another of the valley's forts.

Chief among these, south to north, were Wilkes-Barre Fort, a substantial installation on the left bank of the river; Forty Fort, another strong defense, across the river and about three miles farther north; Wintermoot's Fort (actually, only a stockade around the house of the Wintermoot family, who were suspected of being Tories), three or four miles upstream from Forty Fort; Jenkins' Fort, another stockaded house some three miles above Wintermoot's; and Pittston Fort, consisting of three blockhouses, located directly across the river from Jenkins' Fort. To hold these defenses, the men of the valley had been organized into the 24th Connecticut Militia Regiment, under Col. Nathan Denison. Also on hand were one Continental company and elements of two others, and Col. Zebulon Butler (no relation of John Butler), a local leader on

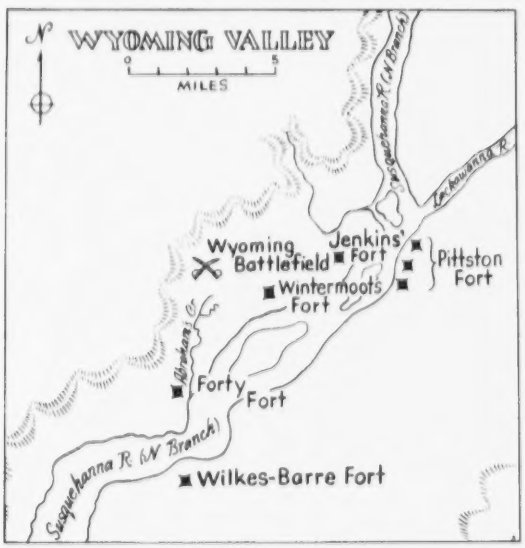
leave from his own regiment, the 3d Connecticut Continentals.

On June 27, Major Butler started from Tioga down the North Branch with about six hundred Indians and one hundred Tory Rangers. This approach was undetected until late on June 30, when thirteen men and boys, working in cornfields about five miles upstream from Jenkins' Fort, were suddenly attacked. Eight were killed or captured but the others escaped and spread the alarm.

By next morning, some four hundred militia under the joint command of Denison and Zebulon Butler marched from Forty Fort to the cornfield where the attack had occurred. They surprised and killed two Indians there, but met no other enemy.

Meanwhile, Major Butler had secretly made contact with local Tories, who guided his force to a wooded campsite less than a mile from Wintermoot's Fort. Later that day, he sent an officer to the fort to demand its surrender. Most of the people inside, promised that their lives would be spared, favored capitulation, so the militia lieutenant in command gave in.

On the following morning (July 2), Butler sent an officer to demand the surrender of Jenkins' Fort. As it was defended by only eight men, its commander also capitulated. Throughout the rest of the day, Ranger and Indian parties roamed the upper part of the valley, while Denison sent out scouts from Forty Fort in an unsuccessful effort to determine the size and location of the enemy force. Neither side learned much of its opponent.



Even so, on the morning of July 3, Major Butler sent a message to Denison, demanding that all forts, all Continental troops, and all public stores in the valley be surrendered, with the militiamen being placed on parole not to fight for the rest of the war. In return, he guaranteed the safety of all inhabitants. Denison stalled for time, saying that he first had to consult with Zebulon Butler, and sent orders for his militiamen to reassemble. By noon, some 375 men had gathered, although the garrison at Pittston Fort had been unable to cross the river (the enemy had taken all the boats) and some men from the southern end of the valley had not arrived.

Denison and Zebulon Butler wanted to wait for reinforcements known to be on the way, but the others insisted on attack. They could see columns of smoke where abandoned houses to the north were burning, and they argued that the whole valley could be devastated while they waited. Colonel Denison gave in to the demands, and soon almost the whole garrison started out.

Still considering it rash to attack, Denison and Zebulon Butler halted on good defensive ground at Abraham's Creek, a mile or so northeast. Another argument occurred, with the two colonels' prudence being castigated as cowardice. Stung, they agreed to proceed, advancing toward Wintermoot's Fort.

There, the force deployed in a line that stretched northwest from high ground above the river, on the right, for three hundred or four hundred yards. No troops were held out as a reserve. Denison was in charge on the left, Zebulon Butler on the right.

Major John Butler had already made his dispositions. Setting both Jenkins' and Wintermoot's forts afire, he put his Rangers behind a log fence extending in a westerly direction from a point above Wintermoot's Fort. The Indians concealed themselves in a swamp beyond the western end of the fence.

Advancing toward the log fence, the Americans halted to fire three volleys, moving forward after each, meeting little resistance. When they halted for a fourth volley, however, the Tories behind the fence opened fire. The Indians in the swamp soon followed suit and the action became general. After half an hour, when the Indians

Zebulon Butler

were about to work around the American left flank. Denison shouted orders for the companies at that end of the line to fall back and form at right angles to the rest of the force. Either because they heard only the words "fall back" or because such a maneuver was too complex for untrained militia in the midst of battle, many men were plunged into confusion, crowding in on the other troops. The whole force quickly broke, and the men began to run away.

The Indians pursued relentlessly. Men were killed as they ran or when they halted and tried to surrender. According to Major Butler's report, the Indians took 227 scalps, but Colonel Denison reported 301 killed. Major Butler admitted having only three killed and eight wounded; accounts by other Tories and Indians place their losses somewhat higher, although nowhere near the eighty the Americans claimed.

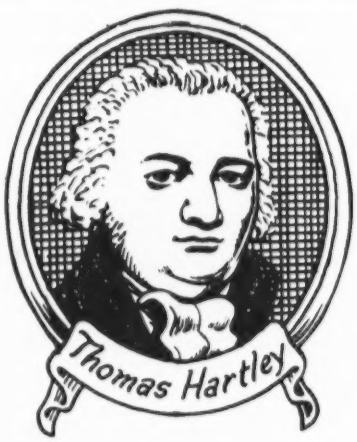
Early on July 4, Major Butler met Colonel Denison, demanding surrender on the original terms. To give Zebulon Butler and the other Continentals time to leave so that they would not be carried off as prisoners, Denison delayed replying until afternoon. Even though he then told Major Butler that all the Continentals were gone, the Tory granted the same terms, also agreeing to use his "utmost influence" to protect private property. Butler further advised Denison to destroy Forty Fort's seven-barrel whiskey stock before the Indians arrived.

The formal surrender took place late that afternoon. Almost at once the Indians began looting. Major Butler answered Denison's protests by saying that he could not control the Indians, but he did ask Denison to supply a list of items taken so that compensation could be made.

Depredations continued through the next three days, with the Indians threatening the lives of inhabitants as well as robbing them. Many settlers left in haste, some going downriver, others striking overland toward East Stroudsburg. These, especially, suffered great hardship as they fled through the wilderness, some dying of exhaustion or starvation. Although Major Butler started his main force back to Tioga on July 8, some Indians stayed behind, terrorizing the remaining inhabitants. Faced with further threats, the last settlers left on July 18.

The attack had devastated the area and forced its virtual depopulation. In the battle, the militia had been crushed and no quarter had been given, but no massacre of the population took place afterwards. Great loss of property and much suffering had occurred. Clearly, however, refugees exaggerated the facts, thus adding to the wave of horror that swept through other parts of the frontier. In response, Col. Thomas Hartley was ordered to move his Continental regiment to Sunbury, and over a thousand Pennsylvania militiamen were ordered to reinforce him.

By August 1, Hartley was at Sunbury, but only a fraction of the promised militia actually joined him there. On August 4, Col. Zebulon Butler and 112 troops were back at Wilkes-Barre Fort, now being called Fort Wyoming. In succeeding weeks, settlers began returning, and Butler's force grew slightly, but small-scale Indian raids within short distances of the fort continued. Hartley, with barely two hundred men, was charged with protecting a frontier stretching from Wyoming to the Allegheny. This was an impossible defensive task, and he soon decided that he must take the offensive, creating a diversion which would lead



the Indians to stop raiding in order to guard their own villages.

Accordingly, on September 21, he started from Fort Muncy, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, following the Sheshequin Path—a route that was so difficult that troops had to cut a new trail as they went. Autumn rains turned the streams into raging torrents. Colonel Hartley reported, however, that his men overcame all obstacles "with great Resolution and Fortitude."

They struck north along Lycoming Creek to its source, then turned northeast to follow Towanda Creek. From that point, they were in hostile territory. However, they met no resistance until September 26, when the nineteen-man advance guard stumbled onto about an equal number of Indians. Both groups were surprised, but the Americans fired first. One Indian was killed and the rest fled.

With the column's presence discovered, Hartley hurried his men along. At Sheshequin, they found and freed fifteen captives the Indians had taken in raids, then pushed on to Tioga, arriving "much fatigued" after dark. Here they captured an Indian who said there were almost eight hundred Tories and Indians at Chemung, only twelve miles away.

The force was too weak to attack Chemung, so it paused next day only long enough to burn Tioga and the nearby Indian village called Queen Esther's Town before starting down the North Branch. After camping overnight at Sheshequin, it crossed to the left bank of the river on September 28 and marched to Wyalusing.

By now, rations were exhausted, so the morning of September 29 was devoted to slaughtering captured cattle and cooking the meat. When the column left at noon, about seventy men boarded captured canoes while the rest proceeded on foot.

Almost immediately, the advance guard came under attack, but soon brushed the enemy aside. Another attack occurred thirty minutes later, and this also was beaten off. Then, at about 2 P.M., a major assault was launched against the rear guard. Undetected, Hartley led part of the main body inland to some high ground, from which he could encircle the Indians. Then the men in the canoes landed and struck from the opposite direction. The enemy, almost completely surrounded and taken by surprise, soon broke and fled, leaving ten dead from a force Hartley estimated at almost two hundred. The Americans lost four killed and ten wounded.

The rest of the move to Wyoming, which was reached on October 1, was uneventful, although the troops knew that Indians were following closely (indeed, on October 3, three men who had ventured a short distance from Fort Wyoming were killed and scalped). Hartley left some of his men to reinforce Zebulon Butler and returned to Sunbury, arriving on October 5, having covered almost three hundred miles in two weeks, moving over difficult terrain and much of the time deep in enemy territory.

The Indian threat had not been eliminated—Hartley warned the Pennsylvania authorities that unless reinforcements were sent quickly, "You may have your Frontier much lower down than you expect"—but some reprisal had been exacted for the Wyoming raid, and the Indians had been shown that they too were vulnerable. It would take the Sullivan Expedition the following summer, carried out on a much larger scale, to bring the war home to the Iroquois, but an effective if small beginning had been made.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1976. Text by John B. B. Trussell, Jr.; edited by Harold L. Myers.

The Sullivan and Brodhead Expeditions

AFTER the Battle of Monmouth, on June 28, 1778, conventional combat between British and American forces in the Revolutionary War came for a time to an almost complete standstill. However, unconventional operations—Indian and Tory raiding against outlying settlements along the Pennsylvania and New York frontiers—greatly intensified. There were fierce attacks on Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley (July 3, 1778) and New York's Cherry Valley (November 10-11, 1778), and small-scale assaults became almost continuous. Settlers fled, crops went unharvested and unplanted, and the American army lost important sources of provisions.

Consequently, early in 1779, George Washington began planning a major campaign against the principal Indian enemy, the "Six Nations" of the Iroquois. As an old Indian-fighter, he knew that this foe was elusive and, therefore, not readily vulnerable to defeat in battle; but the Indians could be reached through destruction of their fields and villages, in a "scorched earth" operation which would reduce their capability to continue raiding, shake their confidence in their Tory allies, and make them dependent on the British for subsistence. Further, a successful inland campaign deep into enemy-dominated territory would provide a basis for claiming American sovereignty over more than the eastern seaboard when peace was eventually established.

The plan finally adopted had four parts. Maj. Gen. John Sullivan would assemble eleven Continental regiments at Easton, Pennsylvania, and march to Wyoming; then, carrying his supplies by boats and pack-horses, move up the North Branch of the Susquehanna to Tioga Point (modern Athens, Pennsylvania). Meanwhile, five regiments, under Brig. Gen. James Clinton, would gather at Otsego Lake, the source of the North Branch, and proceed downstream to join Sullivan. Then all sixteen regiments would advance into the Finger Lakes region, burning and destroying on the way, finally turning west to the Iroquois town of Genesee. The plan's final element was for Col. Daniel Brodhead, 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, to lead a smaller force from Fort Pitt up the Allegheny River. If feasible, he would continue into New York and contact Sullivan's column. At Sullivan's discretion, the entire force could then return, or it could go on to attack Fort Niagara, the British headquarters directing the Tory and Indian raids. Washington's intentions were clear. He said that "The immediate objective is their (the Iroquois') total destruction and devastation," so that "the country may not be merely overrun, but destroyed."

Because the operation involved movement far into wilderness regions, it required vast supplies and extensive transportation facilities. In fact, Washington started ordering these logistical arrangements to be initiated as early as February, hoping to see the campaign begin in May. But when Sullivan arrived at Easton, on May 7, he ran into delays. Only a fraction of the cattle (to be driven along for fresh meat) and the neces-

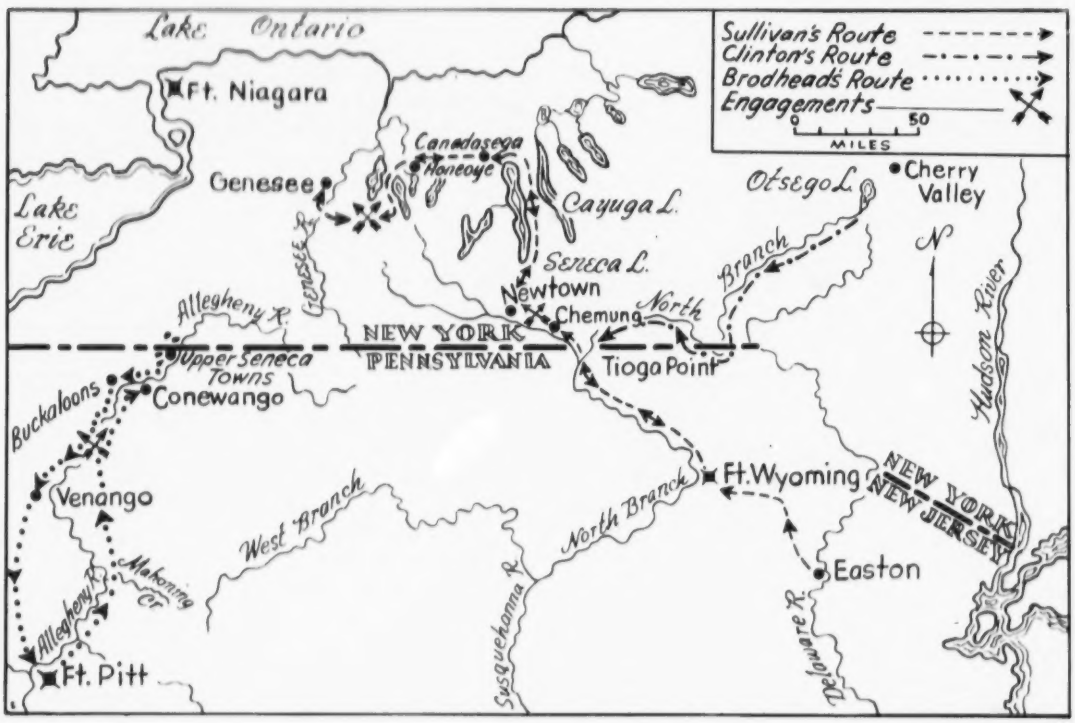
sary pack-horses had been collected. Flour and salt meat stocks were grossly inadequate, and much of what was available had spoiled. The boats that were supposed to be waiting at Wyoming had not even been built. Finally, the only link between Easton and Wyoming was a trail which was impassable for wagons or cannon.

Sullivan immediately put three regiments to work building a road. He also set about procuring such provisions and livestock as were locally available, while persistently bombarding the supply departments at Philadelphia with complaints and demands. Not until June 23, after the new road was completed, did he march to Wyoming.

More than another month passed before the supply build-up permitted the force to begin its movement. On July 31, however, numbering over 2,300 men, with 1,200 pack-horses and 700 to 900 cattle, accompanied by 120 boats, it started upstream. The narrow trail, at times leading along the face of mountains which dropped precipitously to the river, made for hard going and, according to one participant, "gave inconceivable Embaressments to the Troops." Nevertheless, the army reached Tioga Point on August 11.

On that same day, Colonel Brodhead left Fort Pitt for his part of the campaign. With six hundred men, he went up the Allegheny to the mouth of Mahoning Creek, then struck overland, approximately due northward, reaching the Allegheny again sometime around August 18. As the twenty-three-man advance guard continued up the river, it suddenly met thirty to forty Indians, moving downstream in canoes, who made for shore to give battle. In the fight which followed, three soldiers were slightly wounded; five Indians were killed, the rest fleeing. On the next day, the whole force moved on to Buckaloons (near modern Youngsville), where the provisions for the return journey were left, guarded by a small breastwork and one company of soldiers. The remainder advanced to Conewango (modern Warren). From there, instead of following the curving river, they took a shorter, more direct line which brought them again to the Allegheny where eight villages known as the "upper Seneca towns" were located. They found these deserted, and spent the next three days demolishing the houses and destroying an estimated five hundred acres of corn.

Meanwhile, on August 13, Sullivan had probed



John Sullivan

with part of his force northward to the Indian town of Chemung. His advance guard was ambushed, losing seven killed and thirteen wounded, but the troops burned the town and destroyed the surrounding crops before returning to Tioga Point to wait for General Clinton's column to arrive. Sullivan, knowing that Indians were hovering nearby and being unsure of their numbers, on August 16 sent a nine hundred-man force eastward to contact Clinton and escort him to Tioga.

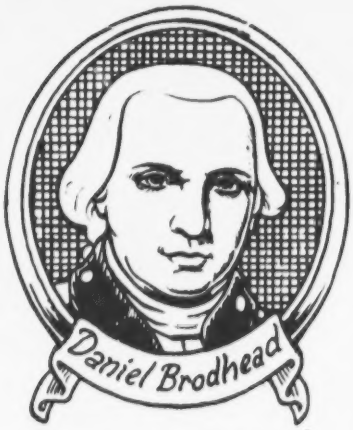
Clinton's five regiments, having left Otsego Lake on August 9, met this escort on August 19. The combined force reached Tioga Point three days later, welcomed by a thirteen-gun salute and "a Band of Musick which played Beautiful." Final preparations were completed, and on August 26 a column of about four thousand men, several hundred cattle, over a thousand packhorses, and nine cannon started north. Staying behind to garrison the base camp were 250 soldiers, the women and children who had accompanied the army, and the civilian boatmen.

Sullivan's force was impressive, particularly for the time and even more so for the region. The Tory Lt. Col. John Butler, whose scouts were keeping the Americans under constant observation while he tried to rally Indians to oppose Sullivan's advance, reported to his superiors that "They are some of the best of the Continental Troops commanded by the most active Rebel Generals." Still, Sullivan had grounds for genuine concern, as he had only twenty-seven days' provisions for his men; many of his officers doubted that the expedition could proceed far enough to be effective without risking starvation. Also, at the start the troops found themselves in rough terrain, their movement made agonizingly difficult by the cannon and ammunition wagons. One soldier's diary noted that "Such Cursing, Cutting and Diging, over seting Wagons, Cannon and Pack Horses into the river &c is not to Be Seen Every Day."

On August 29, the force ran into substantial enemy resistance. Colonel Butler had gathered only four hundred Indians and three hundred Tory Rangers, and wanted to limit operations to harassing raids until more warriors could be accumulated, but the Indians insisted on making a stand. Just below the Indian village of Newtown (near modern Elmira, New York) they built and manned a breastwork extending eastward from the Chemung River, with another body of warriors posted some distance inland, on a hill.

Sullivan's leading brigade, consisting chiefly of Pennsylvania Continentals under Brig. Gen. Edward Hand, easily discovered the breastwork. While Hand kept the enemy preoccupied with musketry, Sullivan brought up the artillery and sent two brigades swinging to the right to turn the enemy left flank. The cannon were to remain silent for thirty minutes—time enough, Sullivan believed, for these brigades to move into position and then open fire, with all American troops converging simultaneously. As the engagement developed, the flanking brigades were slowed by a swamp and were not ready to attack when the artillery opened up. They had a brisk fight before driving the Indians off the hill, but the Indians behind the breastwork were terrified by the cannon fire and fled, many scattering to their home villages. American losses were four dead and thirty-nine wounded. Enemy casualties are uncertain, but the bodies of eleven warriors were found, and Butler admitted having two Tory Rangers killed.

Butler reported that "The Consequences of this affair will, I fear, be of the most serious nature"; and, indeed, he was never again able to rally enough Indians to oppose Sullivan's further movement. As for the Americans, one officer wrote in his journal that "No army can have higher spirits than ours resulting from victory



and a consciousness of superiority." Accordingly, Sullivan had a receptive group of soldiers for the proposal he felt compelled to make: pointing out the dwindling of supplies, he asked the men to agree to accept half rations, saying that the difference could be made up from vegetables now ripe in abandoned Indian fields, and promising that the men would be paid the value of the rations that were not issued. The proposal was unanimously accepted.

Delaying only to destroy the crops and villages —all abandoned— which they passed, the troops advanced up the east side of Seneca Lake. Turning west at the northern end of the lake, they came on September 7 to Canadasega (modern Geneva). At this point, despite the vegetables the men gathered, one participant's journal said that the troops were suffering "hungry bellies and hard Duty now which I think we may call hard times." Some officers thought that the force should turn back, but Sullivan decided to push on to Genesee. To make the advance easier, however, on September 11 he established an advance depot at a village called Honeoye, leaving the sick, the provisions needed for the return march, and most of the livestock with a fifty-man guard.

Although no attacks had occurred, signs of Indians were numerous. Expecting resistance, on the night of September 12 Sullivan sent a twenty-six-man scouting party under Lt. Thomas Boyd, of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, to reconnoiter ahead. Sullivan's caution was justified, for between the time Boyd moved out and the time he started back on the morning of September 13, Butler with at least six hundred Indians and Tory Rangers had laid an ambush directly in front of the advancing army. Stumbling into this ambush from the rear, Boyd's detachment sprung the trap. Nine scouts escaped, Boyd and one soldier were captured, and the rest were killed; but the shooting alerted Sullivan, and Butler's plan was thwarted. With this development, Butler abandoned all resistance plans and withdrew to Fort Niagara.

On September 14, the Americans moved to Genesee, where they found the bodies of Boyd and the soldier captured the previous day. Both men had been horribly tortured, and their bodies hideously mutilated. It was with fierce enthusiasm, therefore, that the troops burned the town and destroyed the acres of crops around it, the task taking until noon on the following day.

Also on September 14, Colonel Brodhead's expedition completed its operation. From the upper Seneca towns, this force had moved back down the Allegheny, following the river to Venango, moving thence to Fort Pitt. As it proceeded, it devastated the cultivated areas and the towns it had passed on the way up. Many of the men, Brodhead reported, were "barefooted and naked" but "they disdained to complain" and he had lost "neither man nor Beast." He concluded that "I have a happy presage that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford & Northumberland. . .will experience the good effect."

As for Sullivan's force, its return march was uneventful. Detachments fanned out to devastate the west side of Seneca Lake and both sides of Cayuga Lake. Having reassembled at the Chemung River, the troops reached Tioga Point on September 30, moved downriver to Wyoming by boat, then marched to Easton, which they reached on October 15, at which time the regiments dispersed to their home stations.

Sullivan reported the destruction of forty Indian towns and at least one hundred sixty thousand bushels of corn. His force, and Brodhead's on a smaller scale, had struck a severe blow. By September 20, over five thousand Indians had fled to Fort Niagara, where they had to be fed from sparse British supplies. Indian raiding would resume, but never again on the scale reached in 1778 and the first half of 1779. More important, the unity which had marked the Iroquois Confederation's activities had been permanently destroyed.

Published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1976. Text by John B. B. Trussell, Jr.; edited by Harold L. Myers.